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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κῆννα ἐς αἰ. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. XII.

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THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K XVI.

Zechar. 11. 4, 5, 6.

Thus saith the Lord my God, Feed the flock of the slaughter.

Whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty: and they that sell them, say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich: and their own shepherds pity them not.

— But lo, I will deliver the men every one into his Neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his King.

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this Earthquake was attended with no signal Alteration. It was believed that *Lambert* would be in the head of the Army, and that *Monk* in Scotland would never submit to be under him. Besides the expectation the King had from the general Affection of the Kingdom, he had fair promises from Men of Interest in it, and of Command in the Army, who professed to prepare for such a Conjunction as this; and that the disorder arising from *Cromwell's* death might dispose *Lockhart* to depend upon the best Title, seemed a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never Monarch, after he had inherited a Crown by

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XVI.

The beginning
of Richard's
Government

B O O K many descents, died in more silence, nor with less
XVI. alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm
in the Kingdom than had been before.

The next Morning after the death of *Oliver*, *Richard* his Son is Proclaimed his Lawful Successor; the Army congratulate their new General, and renew their Vows of fidelity to him; the Navy doth the like; the City appears more unanimous for His Service, than they were for his Father's; and most Counties in *England*, by Addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new Sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the Sepulchre of the Kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His Son inherits all his Greatness, and all his Glory, without the public hate, that visibly attended the other. Foreign Princes addressed their Condoleances to him, and desired to renew their Alliances; and nothing was heard in *England* but the voice of Joy, and large Encomiums of their new Protector: so that the King's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favorable Conjunction his Friends could never expect than this, which now seemed to blast all their hopes, and confirm their utmost despair.

It is probable that this Melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this Child of Fortune could have sat still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his Council thought it necessary that he should call a Parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all Clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last Alliance which *Oliver* had made

with the Crown of *Sweden*, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, did oblige him in the Spring to send a strong Fleet into the *Sound*, to assist that King against *Denmark*; at least to induce *Denmark*, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without some assistance of Parliament; and therefore the new Protector sent out his Writs to call a Parliament, to meet together on the twenty-seventh day of *January*; till which day, for near five Months, he remained as great a Prince as ever his Father had been. He followed the Model that was left him; and sent out his Writs to call those as Peers who had constituted the other House in the former Parliament; and so both Lords and Commons met at the day assigned.

He calls a
Parliament
to meet Jan.
27. 1659.

It meets on
that day.

Richard came to the Parliament in the same State that *Oliver* his Father had done; and sent the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod to the Commons, that they should attend him in the other House; where, first by himself, and then by the Keeper of his Great-Seal, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, he recommended to them the prosecution of the War with *Spain*, and the assistance of the King of *Sweden* in the *Sound*. He had so good fortune at the beginning, that all the Commons signed an *Engagement* not to alter the present Government. But they were no sooner inclosed within those Walls, than there appeared the old Republican Spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It begun with inquiring into the Accounts, how the Money had been spent, and into the Offices of Excise and Customs, and what was become of all that Revenue. When they were called upon to settle the Act of Recogni-

The business
recommended
to them by
the Protector.

Differences rise
in the House
of Commons
about the
Accounts of
Money, and a-
bout the other
House, &c.

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tion, to confirm *Richard*, and his Authority in the State, they would first inform themselves of their own Authority, and how far the Government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assigned to the other House; which they would by no means allow to be a part of the Government already established, which they had promised not to alter. Upon this Argument they exercised themselves with great Licence, as well upon the Creator of those Peers, and the power of the late Protector, as upon his Creatures the Peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the Quality they had been of, not that which they were now grown to. They put the House in mind, “how grievous it had been to the Kingdom, that the Bishops had sat in the House of Peers, because they were looked upon as so many Votes for the King; which was a reason much stronger against these Persons; who were all the work of the Protector’s own hand, and therefore could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his Interest.” They concluded, “that they could not, with good Consciences, and without the guilt of Perjury, ever consent, that that other House should have any part in the Government, since they had all taken the Engagement, that there should be no more any House of Peers, and since the Office of Protector had been, and might still continue without it.”

Notwithstanding all this confidence, which disturbed the Method intended to be proceeded in, this violent Party could not prevail, but it was carried by the Major part of the House, “that they would meet,

“ and confer with the other House, as a part of the
 “ Parliament, during this present Parliament; and
 “ likewise, that such other Persons, as had a right to
 “ come to that other House, and had not forfeited it
 “ by their breach of Trust” (by which they meant
 those Lords who had been always against the King)
 “ should not be restrained from coming thither:” yet
 the Temper of the House of Commons could hardly
 be judged by all this. Some things were done, which
 looked like condescension to the Royal Party; but
 more for the countenance of the *Presbyterians*; and
 whatsoever contradicted those who were for a Re-
 public, was looked upon as favorable to the Protector.

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It was carried,
 that the other
 House should
 be allowed.

The stirring these several humors, and the drowsy
 temper of *Richard*, raised another Spirit in the Army.
 A new Council of Officers met together by their own
 Authority, and admitted *Lambert*, though no Member
 of the Army, to consult with them; they neither
 liked Protector, nor Parliament, but consulted what
 Government to settle, that might be better than
 either: yet they would not incense them both together,
 nor appear to have any disinclination to *Richard*, who
 had many of his nearest Friends amongst them. They
 therefore prepared an Address to him; in which they
 complained of, “ the great Arrears of pay that were
 “ due to the Army, by which they were in great
 “ Straits: that they, who had borne the brunt of the
 “ War, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers
 “ of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid
 “ aside: that the good old Cause was ill spoken of,
 “ and traduced by Malignants and disaffected Per-
 “ sons; who grew every day more insolent, and their

A new Council
 of Officers met,
 who consult
 about the
 Government.

Their Address
 to Richard
 Apr. 6. 1659.

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“ Numbers increased, by the resort out of *Flanders*,
 “ and other places ; and they had several secret
 “ meetings in the City of *London*: that the Names of
 “ all those who had sat upon the late King as his
 “ Judges , were lately Printed, and scattered abroad,
 “ as if they were designed to destruction ; and that
 “ many Suits were commenced at Common - Law
 “ against honest Men, for what they had transacted
 “ in the War as Soldiers : that those famous Acts,
 “ which had been performed in the long Parliament,
 “ and by the late Protector, were censured, railed at,
 “ and vilified.” By all which, they said, “ it was very
 “ manifest, that the good old Cause was declined ;
 “ which they were resolved to assert. And therefore
 “ they besought his Highness to represent those their
 “ Complaints to the Parliament, and to require pro-
 “ per and speedy Remedies.”

The City-Mi-
litia second
them,

This Address was delivered from the Army by *Fleetwood* to *Richard*, on *April 6th. 1659*; which was no sooner known, than *Titchburn*, and *Ireton*, two Aldermen of *London*, and principal Commanders of that Militia, drew up likewise a Remonstrance, and sent it to the Council of Officers ; in which they declared their Resolutions with the Army to stick to the good old Cause, and that they were resolved to accompany them, in whatsoever they should do for what they called the Nation's good.

Votes of the
Parliament
upon it,

The Parliament was quickly alarmed with these Cabals of the Army, and the City ; which *Richard* was as much terrified with, as They. In order to the suppression thereof, the Parliament voted, “ that there
 “ should be no meeting, or general Council of

“ Officers, without the Protector’s consent, and by his
“ Order: and, that no Person should have Commands
“ by Sea or Land, in either of the three Nations, who
“ did not immediately subscribe, that he would not
“ disturb the free meeting of Parliaments, or of any
“ Members in either House of Parliament; nor ob-
“ struct their freedom in Debates and Counsels.”

Those Votes, or to this effect, were sent to *Richard*, and by Him presently to *Wallingford-House*, where the Council of Officers then sat.

These Officers were Men who resolved to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner received these Votes, but they sent *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to *Richard* (the first had married his Sister; the other was his Uncle; both raised by *Cromwell*) to advise him forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. They were two upon whose Affection, in regard of the nearness of their Alliance, and their obligation to, and dependance upon his Father, he had as much reason to be confident, as on any Men’s in the Nation. *Fleetwood* used no Arguments but of Conscience, “to prevent the Nation’s being engaged in blood;” which, he said, “would inevitably fall out, if the Parliament were not presently dissolved.” *Desborough* a Fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats, and menaces; told him, “it was impossible for him to keep both the Parliament, and the Army, his Friends;” wished him, “to chuse which he would prefer: if he dissolved the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his Devotion; if he refused that,

The Officers
advise him to
dissolve the
Parliament.

BOOK XVI. " he believed the Army would quickly pull him out
" of *White-Hall*."

Advice to
Richard to
the contrary.

And of some
Officers of the
Army.

The poor Man had not Spirit enough to discern what was best for him ; and yet he was not without Friends to Counsel him, if he had been capable to receive Counsel. Besides many Members of the Parliament, of Courage and Interest, who repaired to him with assurance, " that the Parliament would continue firm to him, and destroy the Ringleaders of this seditious Crew, if he would adhere to the Parliament ; but if he were prevailed upon to dissolve it, he would be left without a Friend ; and They who had compelled him to do so imprudent an Action, would condemn him when he had done it." some Officers of the Army likewise, of equal Courage and Interest with any of the rest, persuaded him " to reject the desire of those who called themselves the Council of the Army, and to think of punishing their presumption." *Ingoldsby, Whaley, and Goffe*, three Colonels of the Army, and, the two former, Men of signal Courage, offered to stand by him ; and one of them offered to kill *Lambert* (whom they looked upon as the Author of this Conspiracy) if he would give him a Warrant to that purpose.

He is prevailed with to
dissolve the
Parliament.

Richard continued irresolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, *Desborough* and his Companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to sign a Commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to *Nathaniel Fiennes*, his Keeper of the Seal, to dissolve the Parliament the next Morning ; of which the Parliament having notice, they resolved not to go up. So that when *Fiennes* sent for them to

the other House, the Commons shut the door of their House, and would not suffer the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the five-and-twentieth of *April*, imagining that they should by that time convert the Protector from destroying himself. But the poor Creature was so hared by the Council of Officers, that he presently caused a Proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the Parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute no body resorted to him, nor was the name of the Protector afterwards heard of but in derision; the Council of Officers appointing Guards to attend at *Westminster*, which kept out those Members, who, in pursuance of their Adjournment, would have entered into the House upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the Son suffered himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the greatness, and power, which the Father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

He issues out
a Proclama-
tion to that
purpose ;
whereupon his
Protectorship
was at an end.

When the Council of Officers had, with this strange Success, having no Authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a Superior; or, as the Phrase then was, removed the *single Person*, they knew that they could not long hold the Government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove *Ingoldsby*, *Whaley*, *Goffe*, and those other Officers, who had dissuaded *Richard* from submitting to their Advice, from having any Command in the Army; which they therefore did; and replaced *Lambert*, and all the rest who had been Cashiered by *Oliver*, into their own Charges again. So that the Army was

The Council
of Officers
restore Lam-
bert, &c.

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XVI.
to the Army,
and remove
many of Crom-
well's Friends.
They issue a
Declaration
to restore the
long Parlia-
ment, May 6.

become Republican to their wish; and that the Government might return to be purely such, they published a Declaration upon the sixth of *May*, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good Old Cause, and accusing themselves, "for having been instrumental in declining from it; whence all the ills, the Common-wealth had sustained, had proceeded, and the vindication whereof they were resolved to pursue for the future;" they remembered, "that the long Parliament, consisting of those Members who had continued to sit till the twentieth of *April 1653*" (which was the day that *Cromwell*, with the Assistance of these very Officers, had pulled them out of the House, and dismissed them) "had been eminent Assertors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work. They said, that, the desires of many good People concurring with them, they did, by that Declaration, according to their duty, invite those Members to return to the discharge of their Trust, as they had done before that day;" and promised, "that they would be ready, in their places, to yield them their utmost Assistance, that they might sit, and consult in safety, for the settling and securing the Peace and Quiet of the Common-wealth, for which they had now so good an opportunity." And this Declaration, within very few days, they seconded with what they called *The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament*; which contained several advices, or rather positive directions how they were to Govern. This restoring the Rump-Parliament was the only

way in which they could most agree, though it was not suitable to what some of them desired: They well foresaw, that they might give an opportunity to more People to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the surviving Members of that Parliament would pretend a Title to sit there: and therefore, they did not only carefully limit the Convention to such Members who had continued to sit from *January* 1648 to *April* 1653, but caused a Guard likewise to attend to hinder, and keep the other Members from entering into the House. When *Lenthall*, the old Speaker, with forty or fifty of those old Members specified in the Declaration, took their places in the House, and some of the old excluded Members likewise got in, and entered into Debate with them upon the matters proposed, the House was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing such Persons, who well knew all the Members, to inform the Guards, who were, and who were Not, to go into the House. By this means that Cabal only was suffered to enter which had first formed the Common-wealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the Government into these Men's hands again, seemed to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots.

Some of the old, Excluded Members went into the House with them, but were excluded again.

We must, for the better observation, and distinction of the several Changes in the Government, call this Congregation of Men, who were now repossessed of it, by the Style they called themselves, the Parliament; how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate, and establish their

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XVI.

The Parlia-
ment sent to
Richard to
know whether
he acquiesced,
and submitted
to their
Authority.

own Authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilst there was still a Protector, or the Name of a Protector in being, and residing in *White-Hall* They appointed therefore a Committee to go to *Richard Cromwell*, and, that he might have hope they would be his good Masters, first to inquire into the State of his Debts, and then to demand of him, whether He acquiesced in the present Government? He, already humbled to that poverty of Spirit they could wish, gave the Committee a paper, "in which, he said, was contained the State of his Debts, and how contracted;" which amounted to twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

To the other Question, his Answer was likewise in Writing; "that He trusted, his carriage and behaviour had manifested his Acquiescence in the Will and good Pleasure of God, and that he loved and valued the Peace of the Commonwealth much above his private concernment; desiring by this, that a measure of his future comportment might be taken; which, by the blessing of God, should be such as should bear the same Witness; he having, he hoped, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late Providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the particular Engagement that lay upon him, he could not be active in making a Change in the Government of the Nations, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it being made; and did hold himself obliged, as with other men he might expect Protection from the present Government,

so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it,
 “ and to procure, to the uttermost of his power, that
 “ all in whom he had Interest should do the same.”

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This satisfied them as to *Richard*; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory Spirit in his Brother *Harry*, who was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and looked upon as a Man of another Air and Temper. He had in his Exercise of that Government, by the frankness of his Humor, and a general Civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself Gracious and Popular to all sorts of People, and might have been able to have made some Contests with the Parliament. But as soon as he received an Order from them to attend them in Person he thought not fit to be Wiser than his elder Brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his Commission at their Feet; which they accepted, and put the Government of that Kingdom into the hands of *Ludlow*, and four other Commissioners.

Henry
 Cromwell
 likewise sub-
 mits, and re-
 signs his
 Commission of
 Lieutenant of
 Ireland.
 The Parlia-
 ment makes
 Ludlow, and
 four other
 Commis-
 sioners,
 Governors of
 Ireland.

It may not prove ingrateful to the Reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable *Richard*, though it happened long afterwards; because there will be scarce again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this Relation. Shortly after the King's Return, and the manifest Joy that possessed the whole Kingdom thereupon, this poor Creature found it necessary to Transport himself into *France*, more for fear of his Debts than of the King; who thought it not necessary to inquire after a Man so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in *Paris* untaken notice of,

B O O K and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure
XVI. condition and disguise, not owning his own Name, nor having above one Servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumor and apprehension that there was like to be a War between *England* and *France*, to quit that Kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be Neutral to either Party; and pitched upon *Geneva*. Making his way thither by *Bordeaux*, and through the Province of *Languedoc*, he passed through *Pezenas*, a very pleasant Town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, who hath a fair Palace there, and, being then Governor of *Languedoc*, made his Residence in it.

In this place *Richard* made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the Situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a Person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his Father's, and of His Party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, "that all Strangers who came to that Town, used
" to wait upon the Prince of *Conti*, the Governor of
" the Province; who expected it, and always treated
" Strangers, and particularly the *English*, with much
" Civility: that he need not be known, but that he
" himself would first go to the Prince and inform
" him, that another *English* Gentleman was passing
" through that Town towards *Italy*, who would be
" glad to have the honor to kiss his hands." The Prince received him with great Civility and Grace, according to his Natural custom, and, after few words, begun to discourse of the Affairs of *England*, and asked

many questions concerning the King, and whether all Men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered briefly, according to the truth. "Well, said the Prince," "*Oliver*, though he was a Traytor and a Villain, was a brave Fellow, had great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to Command; but that *Richard*, that Coxcomb, *Coquin*, *Poltron*, was surely the basest Fellow alive; What is become of that Fool? How was it possible he could be such a Sot? He answered, that he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his Father;" so being weary of his Visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the Town, out of fear that the Prince might know that He was the very Fool and Coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a Man not very glad of the King's Restoration.

Monk from *Scotland* presented his Obedience to the Parliament, and the assurance of the Fidelity of the Army under his Command, to all their determinations. The Navy Congratulated their Return to the Sovereign Power, and tendered their Submission. The Ambassadors who were in the Town, quickly received new Credentials, and then had Audience from them, as their good Allies, making all the Professions to them, which they had formerly done to *Oliver* and *Richard*. The Parliament continued *Lockhart* as their Ambassador in *France*, as a Man who could best cajole the Cardinal, and knew well the

Monk from
Scotland
declares his
obedience to
them.

So does the
Navy.

They conti-
nued *Lockhart*
Ambassador
in *France*.

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They send
Ambassadors
to mediate
Peace between
the two Nor-
thern Crowns.

They pass an
Act of Indem-
nity to the
Army.

They appoint
all Commis-
sions Military
to be signed by
the Speaker.

Intrigues of that Court. They sent Ambassadors to the *Sound*, to mediate a Peace between those two Crowns, being resolved to decline all Occasions of expence abroad, that they might the better settle their Government at home. To that purpose, they were willing to put an end to the War with *Spain*, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their Honor. That they might thoroughly unite their Friends of the Army to them, they passed an Act of Indemnity to pardon all their former Transgressions, and Tergiversations, which had been the cause of the Parliament's former dissolution and of all the Mischief which had followed.

Now there appeared as great a Calm as ever, and their Government well settled, to the general content of the People of their Party, who testified the same by their Acclamations, and likewise by particular Adresses. And that they might be sure to be liable to no more Affronts, they would no more make a General, which might again introduce a single Person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make That impossible, as they thought, they appointed "the Speaker to execute the Office of General, " in such manner as they should direct; and that all " Commissions should be granted by him, and sealed " with their own Seal; all the Seals used by the *Crom-* " *wells* being broken." And accordingly all the Officers of the Army, and Navy (for the Speaker was Admiral as well as General) delivered up their Commissions, and took new Ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their Empire could be shaken.

But

But these Men had not sat long in their old places, when they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches, and the contempt they underwent from all kind of People; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the King's Party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in Power and Authority with themselves. And though the smart they felt from others, vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards Them, that they might with less control exercise their Tyranny over the poor broken Cavaliers. So they made a present Order, "to banish all who had ever manifested any Affection to the King, or his Father, twenty Miles from *London*;" and revived all those Orders they had formerly made, and which *Cromwell* had abolished or forborne to execute; by which many Persons were committed to Prisons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awakened those of another Class, to apprehensions of what They might be made liable to. The Soldiers were very merry at their new General, and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next Adventure; and the Officers thought they had deserved more than an Act of Indemnity, for restoring them to such a Sovereignty. In a word, as the Parliament remembered how They had been used, so all other People remembered how they had used Them, and could not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

They banish
all Cavaliers
20 miles from
London.

This universal temper raised the Spirits again of the
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The King's
Party begins
to move.

King's Friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the Parliament, and been afterwards disobliged both by *Cromwell*, and the Rump-Parliament, very desirous to enter into Amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the King's Re-establishment. Those Members of the long Parliament, who, after the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, were by violence kept from the House, took it in great indignation, that They, upon whom the said violence was practised afterwards, which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new Governors; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourse of the Soldiers; who declared, "that, if there were any commotion in the Kingdom, " they would go no farther to suppress it, than *Lenthall* " should lead them."

Mr. *Mordaunt*, who had so lately his head upon the Block, was more active than any Man; and was so well trusted by Men of all conditions, upon the Courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good Men in most Quarters of the Kingdom, "that if the King would " assign them a day, and promise to come to them " after they were embodied, they would not fail to " appear at the day." Whereupon, Mr. *Mordaunt* ventured himself to come in disguise to the King to *Brussels*, to give him a clear Account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in some of those upon whom the King most relied, to

Mr. *Mordaunt*
comes to Brus-
sels to acquaint
the King
with the pre-
parations.

encourage other Men, and to desire that his Majesty would, by Him, require them to concur with the rest. It appeared, by the Account he gave, that there were very few Counties in *England*, where there was not a formed Undertaking by the most powerful Men of that County, to possess themselves of some considerable place in it; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the King to venture his own Person, than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he suffered those who were now in the Government, to be settled in it.

That which was best digested, and, in respect of the Undertakers, most like to succeed, was, first the surprisal and possessing of *Lynne*, a Maritime Town, of great importance in respect of the Situation, and likewise of the good Affection of the Gentlemen of the Parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, with the consent and Approbation of Sir *Horatio Townsend*: who, being a Gentleman of the greatest Interest, and Credit, in that large County of *Norfolk*, was able to bring in a good Body of Men to possess it. The former had served the Parliament, and was in great credit with the Presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under Age till long after the end of the War, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy Principles, and of a noble Fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow Money; and laid it out to provide Arms and Ammunition; and all the King's Friends in those parts, were ready to obey those Persons in whatsoever they undertook.

A design of
surprising
Lynne by
the Lord
Willoughby
of *Parham* and
Sir *Horatio*
Townsend.

Another Design, which was looked upon as ripe

And a design
upon *Glocester*

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by Massey.

too, was the surprisal of *Glocester*, a Town very advantageously Situated upon the River of *Severn* that would have great influence upon *Bristol* and *Worcester*; both which, Persons of the best Interest undertook to secure, as soon as *Glocester* should be possessed; which Major General *Massey*, who had been formerly Governor thereof, and defended it too well against the King, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the Town *incognito*, and conferred with his Friends there, and lain concealed in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed for the Execution of it; of all which he sent the King an Account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no Garrison in either of the places.

The Gentle-
men of Shrop-
shire ready.

Sir G. Booth
undertakes
Chester.

Sir Thomas
Middleton to
join with him.

In the West,
designs upon
Plymouth
and Exeter.

The Lord *Newport*, *Lyttleton*, and other Gentlemen of *Shropshire*, were ready at the same time to secure *Shrewsbury*; and for the making that Communication perfect, Sir *George Booth*, a Person of one of the best Fortunes and Interest in *Cheshire*, and, for the Memory of his Grandfather, of absolute power with the Presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the City and Castle of *Chester*. And Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who had likewise served the Parliament, and was one of the best Fortune and Interest in North-*Wales*, was ready to join with Sir *George Booth*; and both of them to unite entirely with the King's Party in those Counties. In the West, *Arundel*, *Pollard*, *Greenvil*, *Trelawny*, and the rest of the King's Friends in *Cornwal*, and *Devonshire*, hoped to possess *Plymouth*, but were sure of *Exeter*. Other Undertakings there were in the North, by Men very ready to venture all they had.

When the King received this Account in gross from a Person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail received much from the Persons concerned (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present Government, that Messengers went forward and backward with all security) and likewise found by Mr. *Mordaunt*, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat; and therefore that the resolution was general, “that, though any discovery should be made, and any Persons imprisoned, the rest would proceed as soon as the day should be appointed by the King,” his Majesty resolved that he would adventure his own Person, and would be ready *incognito* at *Calais* upon such a day of the Month; and that his Brother the Duke of *York* should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the Intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

There happened at this time the discovery of a vile Treachery which had done the King's Affairs much harm; and had it been longer concealed, would have done much more. From the death of *Oliver*, some of those who were in the secretest part of his Affairs, discerned evidently, that their new Protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the King, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the Office of Secrecy, Mr. *Moreland*, sent an Express to the King, to inform him of many particulars of Moment, and to give him some advices, what his Majesty was to

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A discovery
of the Treachery of Sir
Richard
Willis.

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do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what Persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other Persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his Service to his Majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity, and his usefulness, he advertised the King of a Person who was much trusted by his Majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "that he had received a large Pension from
" *Cromwell*, and that he continually gave *Thurlow*
" Intelligence of all that he knew; but that it was
" with so great circumspection, that he was never
" seen in his presence: that in his contract, he had
" promised to make such discoveries, as should pre-
" vent any danger to the State; but that he would
" never endanger any Man's life, nor be produced to
" give in Evidence against any: and that this very
" Person had discovered the Marquis of *Ormond's*
" being in *London* the last year, to *Cromwell*; but
" could not be induced to discover where his Lodg-
" ing was; only undertook his Journey should be in-
" effectual, and that he should quickly return; and
" then they might take him if they could; to which
" he would not contribute." To conclude, his Ma-
jesty was desired to trust this Man no more, and to give his Friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The King at
first believes
it not.

The King, and They who were most trusted by him in his secret Transactions, believed not this information; but concluded that it was contrived to amuse

him, and to distract all his Affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. B O O K
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The Gentleman accused, was Sir *Richard Willis*; who had from the beginning to the end of the War, except at *Newark*, given testimony of his Duty and Allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a Gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good Officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that, if the King had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his Friends would have thought he had received ill insinuations without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the Marquis of *Ormond*, who had Communicated more with Him, than with any Man in *England*, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations, and advices, that were sent by the Person who accused him, were very important, and could have no end but his Majesty's Service; and the Offices that Gentleman offered to perform for the future, were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This Intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting Money; for the present condition of him who sent it, was so good, that he expected no reward, till the King should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the Errand, was likewise a Gentleman, who did not look for the Charges of his Journey: and how could it have been known to *Cromwell*, that that Person had been trusted by the Marquis of *Ormond*, if he had not discovered it himself?

In this perplexity, his Majesty would not presently

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The accuser
clearly proves
the thing by
Letters, &c.

depart from his confidence in the Gentleman accused. As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a Case; only frankly declared, "that nothing could convince him of the
" infidelity of that Gentleman, or make him withdraw
" his trust from him, but the Evidence of his hand-
" writing; which was well known." This Messenger no sooner returned to *London*, but another was despatched with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great Number of his Letters were sent, whereof the Character was well known; and the Intelligence communicated, was of such things as were known to very few besides that Person himself.

One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he seldom communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any Man who was of the King's Party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the Presbyterian Party, or by any who had been against the King, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of *Masseys*' design upon *Glocester*, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the King's Party, it was, chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy, or treachery in the King's Councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the Person of the King.

It was a new perplexity to the King, that he knew not by what means to Communicate this Treachery to his Friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a Person of merit, and disappoint his Majesty of that Service, which must be of great moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. *Mordaunt* came to *Brussels*, and informed his Majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his Friends were in, which are mentioned before; and amongst the other Orders he desired, one was, that some Message might be sent to that knot of Men (whereof the accused Person was one) “who, he said, were principally trusted by his Majesty, and were all Men of honor, but so wary and incredulous, that others were more discouraged by their coldness;” and therefore wished, “that they might be quickened, and required to concur with the most forward.” Hereupon the King asked him what he thought of such a one, naming Sir *Richard Willis*; Mr. *Mordaunt* answered, “it was of Him they complained principally; who, they thought, was the cause of all the wariness in the rest; who looked upon him not only as an excellent Officer, but as a prudent and discreet Man; and therefore, for the most part, all debates were referred to him; and he was so much given to objections, and to raising difficulties, and making things unpracticable, that most Men had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him.” The King asked him, “whether he had any suspicion of his want of honesty?” the other answered, “that he was so far from any such suspicion, that, though he did not take him to be his Friend, by reason of

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The King
communicates
the discovery
to Mr.
Mordaunt.

“ the many disputes and contradictions frequently
“ between them, he would put his life into his hand
“ to morrow.”

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr. *Mordaunt* should return into *England* with a confidence in this Man; and therefore his Majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very Letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and the King charged him “ no farther to Com-
“ municate with that Person, and to give his Friends
“ such caution, as might not give a greater disturb-
“ ance to his Affairs, by raising new Factions amongst
“ them, or provoke him to do more mischief, which
“ it was in his power to do.” But for all this there was another Expedient found; for by the time Mr. *Mordaunt* returned to *London*, the Person who gave the King the Advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused Papers to be posted up in several places, by which all Persons were warned not to look upon Sir *Richard Willis* as faithful to the King, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy Men still continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

The Discoverer pub-
lishes Papers
to forewarn
the King's
Friends of
this Person.

It was towards the end of *June* that Mr. *Mordaunt* left *Brussels*, with a resolution that there should be a general Rendezvous throughout *England* of all who would declare for the King, upon a day named, about the middle of *July*; there being Commissions in every County directed to six or seven known Men, with

Authority to them to chuse one to Command in Chief in that County, till they should make a conjunction with other Forces, who had a superior Commission from the King. And those Commissioners had in their hands plenty of Commissions under the King's hand, for Regiments and Governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best Model (how liable soever to exception) that, in so distracted a State of Affairs, could be advised.

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The King, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be at *Calais*; which resolution was kept with so great secrecy at *Brussels*, that his Majesty had left the Town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in *France*, as in *England*. Therefore, as the King went out in the Morning, so the Duke of *York* went out in the Afternoon, another way: his Highness' motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his Command in the Army. The King went attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol* (who was the Guide, being well acquainted with the Frontiers on both sides) and two or three Servants, all *incognito*, and as Companions; and so they found their way to *Calais*; where they staid. The Duke of *York*, with four or five of his own menial Servants, and the Lord *Langdale*, who desired to attend his Highness, went to *Boulogne*; where he remained with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The King goes
to Calais.

The Duke of
York to
Boulogne.

The Affairs in *England* had no prosperous aspect; every Post brought News of many Persons of Honor

The Disap-
pointment of
all the designs
in England.

B O O K and Quality committed to several Prisons, throughout the Kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual Weather at that Season of the Year, being the middle of *July*. The Night before, there had been an excessive Rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high Wind, that the Winter had seldom so great a Storm: so that the Persons over *England*, who were drawing to their appointed Rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross Accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

Massey seized on; but escapes.

In the beginning of the Night, when *Massey* was going for *Glocester*, a Troop of the Army beset the House where he was, and took him Prisoner; and putting him before one of the Troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous Night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkest part of it, the Troop marching down a very steep Hill, with Woods on both sides, he, either by his activity, or the connivance of the Soldier, who was upon the same Horse with him, found means, that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the Horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and being strong and nimble, got into the Woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Of all the Enterprises for the seizing upon strong places, only one succeeded, which was that undertaken

Sir G. Booth
seized Chester;
and Sir Tho.
Middleton
joins with
him.

by Sir *George Booth*; all the rest failed. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and Sir *Horatio Townsend*, and most of their Friends, were apprehended before the day, and made Prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as Men able to do hurt. Only Sir *George Booth*, being a Person of the best Quality and fortune of that County, of those who had never been of the King's party, came into *Chester*, with such Persons as he thought fit to take with him, the Night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the Night, and the next Morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the Rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that City, yet Sir *George* being himself there with a good Troop of Horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into *Chester*, where his Party was strong enough: and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, having kept his Rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their Devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Then they published their Declaration, rather against those who called themselves the Parliament, and usurped the Government by the power of the Army, than owning directly the King's Interest. They said, "that, since God had suffered the Spirit of division to continue in this Nation, which was left without any settled foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Property, the Legislative Power usurped at pleasure, the Army raised for it's defence misled by their superior Officers, and no face of Government

Their Declaration.

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“ remaining, that was lawfully constituted ; there-
 “ fore, They, being sensible of their duty, and utter
 “ ruin, if these distractions should continue, had taken
 “ Arms in vindication of the freedom of Parliaments,
 “ of the known Laws, Liberty, and Property, and of
 “ the good People of this Nation groaning under in-
 “ supportable Taxes : that they cannot despair of the
 “ blessing of God, nor of the cheerful concurrence of
 “ all good People, and of the undeceived party of the
 “ Army ; whose Arrears and future advancement
 “ they would procure, suffering no imposition or
 “ force on any Man’s Conscience.” But though they
 mentioned nothing of his Majesty in express terms,
 they gave all countenance, and reception, and all
 imaginable assurance to the King’s Party ; who had
 directions from the King to concur, and to unite
 themselves to them.

What disappointments soever there were in other
 places, the fame of this Action of these two Gentlemen,
 raised the Spirits of all Men. They who were at
 liberty, renewed their former designs ; and they who
 could not promise themselves places of refuge, pre-
 pared themselves to march to *Chester*, if Sir *George*
Booth did not draw nearer with his Army ; which in
 truth he meant to have done, if the appointments
 which had been made, had been observed. But when
 he heard that all other places failed, and of the multi-
 tude of Persons Imprisoned, upon whose assistance he
 most depended, he was in great Apprehension that
 he had begun the Work too soon ; and though his
 Numbers increased every day, he thought it best to
 keep the Post he was in, till he knew what was like to
 be done elsewhere.

This fire was kindled in a place which the Parliament least suspected; and therefore they were the more alarmed at the News of it; and knew it would spread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their Army, in which they had not Confidence. There were many Officers whom they had much rather trust than *Lambert*; but there was none they thought could do their business so well: So they made choice of Him to march with such Troops as he liked, and with the greatest Expedition, to suppress this new Rebellion, which they saw had many Friends. They had formerly sent for two Regiments out of *Ireland*, which, they knew, were devoted to the Republican Interest, and those they appointed *Lambert* to join with. He undertook the Charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his Credit with the Soldiers, who had loved to be under his Command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself esteemed brave upon any Action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the Enemy in Numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that Sir *George Booth* found he was in less than a day's march, before he thought he could have been half the way. Sir *George* himself had not been acquainted with the War, and the Officers who were with him, were not of one mind or humor; yet all were desirous to Fight (the natural infirmity of the Nation, which could never endure the view of an Enemy without engaging in a Battle) and instead of retiring into the Town, which they

The Parliament sends
Lambert
against them.

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Who routs Sir
G. Booth and
takes Chester.

might have defended against a much greater Army than *Lambert* had with him, longer than he could stay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a short Encounter, Routed by him, and totally broken: so that, the next day, the Gates of *Chester* were opened to *Lambert*; Sir *George Booth* himself making his flight in a disguise; but he was taken upon the way, and sent Prisoner to the Tower.

Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North-*Wales*, whither Sir *Thomas Middleton* was retired with his Troops to a strong Castle of his own; and he thought neither the Man, nor the Place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpose for one Man to oppose the whole Kingdom, where all other Persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making show of resistance, *Middleton* accepted such Conditions as he could obtain, and suffered his goodly House, for the strength of the Situation, to be pulled down.

Sir Thomas
Middleton
delivers up
his Castle.

This Success put an end to all endeavours of force in *England*; and the Army had nothing to do but to make all Persons Prisoners whose looks they did not like; so that all Prisons in *England* were filled; whilst the Parliament, exalted with their Conquest, consulted what Persons they would Execute, and how they should Confiscate the rest; by means whereof, they made no doubt they should destroy all Seeds of future Insurrections on the behalf of the King, many of the Nobility being at present in custody. And they resolved, if other Evidence was wanting, that the very suspecting them should be sufficient reason to continue them there.

When

When the King came to *Calais*, where he received Accounts every day from *England* of what was Transacted there, as he was much troubled with the News he received daily of the Imprisonment of his Friends, so he was revived with the Fame of Sir *George Booth's* being possessed of *Chester*, and of the Conjunction between him and *Middleton*. They were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of Troops in *Lincolnshire*, and *Yorkshire*, and some other Counties, stood fair: whereupon the King resolved to go himself to some other part of *France*, from whence he might securely Transport himself into those parts of *England*, where, with least hazard, he might join himself with the Troops which were in Arms for him, and so went to the Coast of *Bretagne*.

The King
removes to
the Coast of
Bretagne.

The Duke of *York* remained at *Boulogne*, to expect some appearance of Arms in *Kent*, and *Essex*; which was still promised, as soon as the Army should be drawn farther from *London*. In this expectation, his Royal Highness found an opportunity to confer with his old Friend Marechal *Turenne*; who very frankly assigned him some Troops; and likewise provided Vessels to Transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an Engagement in any probable Enterprize; and this with so much Generosity and Secrecy, that the Cardinal, who was then upon the Borders of *Spain*, should have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst his Highness was providing for his longed for Expedition, and when the King, after his visiting *St. Maloes*, was at *Rochelle* in hope to

The Duke of
York confers
with Monsieur
Turenne;
who offers
Assistance.

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The King
receives
News of Sir
G. Booth's
defeat.

The Duke
returns to
Brussels.
The King
resolves to be
at the meeting
of the two
Favorites
of the two
Crowns.

Don Juan
recalled to
Spain.

find a conveniency for his Transportation, the fatal News arrived in all parts of the defeat of Sir *George Booth*, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the Parliament; which seemed now to be in as absolute possession of the Government of the three Nations, as ever *Cromwell* had been.

Struck with this dismal relation, the King and his Brother seemed to have nothing else to do, but to make what haste they could out of *France*; where it was thought they could not now be found with safety. The Duke of *York* returned speedily to *Brussels*; but the King, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his Condition, resumed a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a Journey himself to the Borders of *Spain*, to solicit more powerful Supplies; the two Chief Ministers of the two Crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his Majesty preferred any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at *Brussels*, and the dry looks of the *Spaniards* there; who were broken into so many Factions amongst themselves, that the Government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the Marquis of *Carracena*, and *Don Alonzo*, had such an influence upon the Counsels at *Madrid*, that *Don Juan* received Orders without delay to return to *Spain*, and to leave the Government in the hands of the Marquis of *Carracena*; which *Don Juan* very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a Pass to go through *France*, he left those Provinces, and made his Journey through that Kingdom towards *Madrid*. He was a Person of a small Stature, but well

made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his Parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his Education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a *Spanish* breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and taking his pleasure, he was capable of any great Employment, and would have discharged it well.

I said before, the Chief Ministers of the two Crowns were now met on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. For, this year, some thing had happened abroad, that, as it was new, might seem to administer new hopes to raise the King's Spirits; however, it was a subject for Men to exercise their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The War had now continued between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal, and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the Princes of *Europe*; a War wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of Right and Justice, to comply with the Pride and Humor of the two Favorites of the Crowns (besides the natural Animosity, which will always be between the two Nations) who would try the Mastery of their Wit and Invention, at the charge of their Master's Treasure, and the blood of their Subjects, against all the obligations of Leagues and Alliances; a War prosecuted only for War's sake, with all the circumstances of Fire, Sword, and Rapine, to the consumption of Millions of Treasure, and Millions of Lives of noble, worthy, and honest Men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which

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appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seemed to be affected, and carried on by the power of a Brother and Sister against each other (for half the time had been spent in the Regency of the Queen of *France*) when they both loved, and tendered each other's good, and happiness, as the best Brother and Sister ought to do.

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel War, which the Queen-Mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of Age, and the young King being of years ripe to Marry, and the Infanta of *Spain* being in that, and all other respects, the most competent Match for him, which would be the best, and was the only Expedient to procure a Peace, her Majesty resolved to employ all her Interest, and Authority, to bring it to pass, and knowing well, all Her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the Cardinal, she proposed it to him with all the warmth, and all the concernment such a Subject required; conjuring him
 “ by all the good offices she had performed towards
 “ him, that he would, not only consent to it, but take
 “ it to heart, and put it into such a way of Negotia-
 “ tion, that it might arrive at the issue she desired.

The Queen-Mother of France designs to put an end to the war between the two Crowns by a Treaty and Marriage. She advises the Cardinal to concur in it.

His Arguments against it.

The Cardinal used all the Arguments he could, to dissuade her Majesty from desiring it at this time;
 “ that it would not be for her Majesty's Service; nor
 “ was he able to bear the reproach, of being the In-
 “ strument of making a Peace, at a time when *Spain*
 “ was reduced to those straits, that it could no longer
 “ resist the Victorious Arms of *France*; that they

“ could not fail the next Summer of being possessed of
 “ *Brussels* itself, and then they should not be long
 “ without the rest of the *Spanish* Netherlands; and
 “ therefore, at this time, to propose a Peace, which
 “ must disappoint them of so sure a Conquest, would
 “ not only be very ingrateful to the Army, but in-
 “ cense all good *French*-men against him, and against
 “ her Majesty herself.

The Queen was not diverted from her purpose by those Arguments; but proposed it to the King, and prosecuted it with the Cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate Friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her Majesty; which his gratitude would not suffer him to chuse; and thereupon He yielded; and *Don Antonio Pimentel* from *Madrid*, and *Monsieur de Lyonne* from *France*, so Negotiated this last Winter in both Courts, both, *incognito*, making several Jour- nies backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the Winter, it was published, there would be a Treaty between the two Crowns, and that, in the beginning of the Summer of this year 1659, the two Favorites, Cardinal *Mazarin*, and *Don Lewis de Haro* would meet, and make a Treaty both for the Peace, and the Marriage.

But at last He yields to her purpose.

The Treaty is transacted first *incognito* at Paris and Madrid.

The Cardinal was the sooner induced to this Peace by the unsettled Condition of *England*. The death of *Cromwell*, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the Succession of *Richard*, under the advice of the same Persons who were trusted by his Father, pleased him well. But then the throwing him out with such circumstances,

The reasons that moved the Cardinal to yield to this Peace.

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broke all his Measures. He could not forget that the Parliament, that now governed, were the very same Men who had eluded all his Application, appeared ever more inclined to the *Spanish* Side, and had without any color of provocation, and when he believed they stood fair towards *France*, taken the *French* Fleet, when it could not but have Relieved *Dunkirk*; by which that Town was delivered up to the *Spaniard*. He knew well, that *Spain* did, at that instant, use all the underhand means they could to make a Peace with them; and he did not believe, that the Parliament would affect the continuance of that War, at so vast a Charge both at Sea and Land; but that they would rather foment the Divisions in *France*, and endeavour to unite the Prince of *Condé* and the Hugonots; which would make a concussion in that Kingdom; and he should then have cause to repent the having put *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *English*. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him at last to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the Queen, he should best provide for the security of *France*, and of Himself, by making a Peace with *Spain*.

His promises
to Lockhart
touching his
adhering to
the Parlia-
ment.

However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke, or neglect *England*. Therefore he renewed all the promises, he had formerly made to *Oliver*, again to *Lockhart* (who was the Ambassador now of the Republic) "that he would never make a Peace without the consent, and inclusion of *England*;" and very earnestly desired him, and writ to that purpose to the Parliament, that he might be at the Treaty with him, that so they might still consult

what would be best for their joint Interest, from which he would never separate; insinuating to him, in broken and half Sentences, “that though the Treaty was necessary to satisfy the Queen, there were so many difficulties in view, that he had little hope of a Peace:” and, in truth, many sober Men did not believe the Treaty would ever produce a Peace: for, besides the great Advantages which *France* had gotten, and that it could not be imagined, that *Spain* would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the *French*, which they had then in their hands by Conquest (the usual Effect of Peace being a restitution of all places taken in the War; which *France* would never permit) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any Expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by *de Lyonne* and *Pimentel*, were entirely reserved for the Treaty of the two Favorites; both Sides having, with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

Two particulars of difficulty in the Treaty referred to the personal conference between the Favorites.

The two particulars were those concerning *Portugal*, and the Prince of *Condé*. There could not be a greater Engagement, than *France* had made to *Portugal*, never to desert it, nor to make a Peace without providing that that King should quietly enjoy his Government to him and his Posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the Yoke of *Spain*. And *Spain*, was principally induced to buy a Peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of *Portugal*; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other

The first, the business of Portugal.

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Enemy upon them; and they would never value any Peace, if That were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by *France*.

The second,
that of the
Prince of
Condé.

On the other hand, the Prince of *Condé* had the King of *Spain's* word and obligation, by the most solemn Treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a Peace without including Him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their Honors, Offices, and Estates, but with some farther recompence for the great Service he had done; which was very great indeed: and nobody believed, that the Cardinal would ever consent to the Restoration of that Prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this Treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when, and where the two great Favorites should meet. *Fuentarabia*, a place in the *Spanish* Dominions, very near the Borders of *France*, the same place where *Francis* the First was delivered, after his long Imprisonment in *Spain*, was agreed upon for their Interview; a little River near that place parting both the Kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it, brought the two Favorites to meet, without either of their going out of his Master's Dominions.

Fuentarabia
the place of
Interview.

The same of this Treaty, as soon as it was agreed to, had yielded variety, and new Matter to the King to consider. Both Crowns had made the contention and War that was between them, the only ground and reason, why they did not give him that Assistance, which in a case so near relating to themselves, he

might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release them from that War, they would manifest to the world, that they took the King's case to be their own: so that his Majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this Peace, and the world could not but expect, that he would have some Ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit Person, and so many greater to defray the expense of an Ambassador, that his Majesty had at first resolved to find himself present in that Treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a Letter from Sir *Harry Bennet*; by which he was informed, "that he speaking with *Don Lewis* about
 " his Journey to *Fuentarabia*, and asking him whither
 " he would give him leave to wait on him thither,
 " *Don Lewis* answered, that he should do well to be
 " present; and then asked him, why the King himself
 " would not be there; and two or three days after, he
 " told him, that if the King, with a very light Train,
 " came *incognito* thither, for the place could not
 " permit them to receive him in State, after the great
 " difficulties of the Treaty were over, he would do
 " all he could to induce the Cardinal to concur in
 " what might be of convenience to his Majesty."
 The King had before resolved to have a very little Train with him, suitable to the Treasure he had to defray his Expenses, and to make his whole Journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to *France*, through which

The King resolves to be present at it.

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he was necessarily to make his Journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a Pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the Nature of the Cardinal, than from the sincerity of *Don Lewis de Haro*, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon *Spain* might not irreconcile *France*.

To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his Majesty had written to the Queen his Mother, to intreat her, "as of herself, to desire the Cardinal's advice, whether it would not be fit for the King to be present at the Treaty; that she might send his Majesty such counsel as was proper: if he thought well of it, she might then propose such Passes, as should seem reasonable to her." Her Majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the Question of the Cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, "that it was by no means fit;" and that it would do the King much harm; and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the Queen "to let the King know, that he should rely upon him to take care of what concerned him; which he would not fail to do, as soon as he discerned that the Treaty would produce a Peace." Her Majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent the King word, how kind the Cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his Majesty should think of undertaking such a Journey himself; nor did the Queen imagine that the King

Cardinal Ma-
zarin advises
against it.

would ever think of it without a Pass, and the Cardinal's approbation. B O O K
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When his Majesty had received this Account from his Mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a Pass. And thus far, in the beginning of this last Spring, before any design of rising in *England* was ripened, his Majesty had proceeded in his intention of being personally present at the Conference between the two great Ministers. But now, when all his expectations from *England* for this year were defeated, and when he himself was already advanced far into *France*, he thought it more necessary than ever to take up his former resolution. Being therefore by this time fully advertised, that the Favorites had been met a considerable time, and were entered so far into the Treaty, in the very entrance of which they had agreed to a Cessation of Arms, his Majesty attended by the same Company he had then with him, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three other Servants, together with the Earl of *Bristol* (though Sir *Harry Bennet* had before informed the King, that *Don Lewis de Haro* had particularly desired he would not bring that Earl with him; whose Company yet, in respect of his Language, the King believed would be very convenient to him) his Majesty, I say, with this Attendance, began his Journey from that part of *Bretagne* where he then was still *incognito*. He had indeed now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his Journey, and really to apprehend being stopped if he were discovered; and therefore was not to go about by *Paris*, or any of those Roads where he had been heretofore known; yet he allowed himself the

The King begins his journey thither with the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Bristol.

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He goes by
Lyons into
Languedoc ;
and so onward.

more time, that he might in his Compass see those parts of *France* where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure, and divertisement, that such a Journey would admit of. To that purpose he appointed the Earl of *Bristol* to be the Guide ; who knew most of *France*, at least more than any body else did ; and who always delighted to go out of the way ; and *Daniel O Neile* to take care that they always fared well in their Lodgings ; for which Province no Man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by *Lyons* into *Languedoc*, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the Journey, that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the Progress in the Treaty from the Intelligence they met with in the way.

When they came near *Toulouse*, they found that the *French* Court was there, which they purposely designed to decline. However the King, going himself a nearer way, sent the Marquis of *Ormond* thither, to inform himself of the true State of the Treaty, and to meet his Majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to *Fuentarabia*. The Marquis went alone without a Servant, that he might be the less suspected ; and when he came to *Toulouse*, he was informed from the Common discourse of the Court, that the Treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the Cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

An account
of the close of
that Treaty in
respect of the
difficulties

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceived possible, both Parties equally desiring the Marriage, which could never be without the Peace. The Cardinal, who had much the

advantage over *Don Lewis* in all the faculties necessary
 for a Treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in
 observing what he promised, had used all the Arts
 imaginable to induce *Don Lewis* to yield both in the
 point of *Portugal*, and what related to the Prince of
Condé, and his Party. He enlarged upon “ the despe-
 “ rate estate in which *Flanders* was; and that they
 “ could possess themselves entirely of it in one Cam-
 “ paign; and therefore it might easily be concluded,
 “ that nothing but the Queen’s absolute Authority,
 “ could in such a conjuncture have disposed the King
 “ to a Treaty; and, he hoped, that she should not be
 “ so ill requited, as to be obliged to break the Treaty,
 “ or to oblige the King her Son to consent to what
 “ was indispensably against his Honor: that if he
 “ should recede from the Interest of *Portugal*, no
 “ Prince or State would hereafter enter into Alliance
 “ with him: that though they were bound to insist to
 “ have *Portugal* included in the Peace, yet he would
 “ be contented that a long Truce might be made, and
 “ all Acts of Hostility forborne for a good Number of
 “ years, which, he said, was necessary for *Spain*, that
 “ they might recover the fatigue of the long War
 “ they had sustained, before they entered into a New
 “ One: if they would not consent to that, then that
 “ *Portugal* should be left out of the Peace, and *Spain*
 “ at liberty to prosecute the War, and *France* at the
 “ same time to assist *Portugal*, which, he said, in res-
 “ pect of the distance, they should never be able to
 “ administer in such a proportion as would be able to
 “ preserve it from their Conquest; not without in-
 “ sinuation, that, so they might not renounce the

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“ promise they had made, they would not be over-
 “ solicitous to perform it. As to the Prince *Condé*,
 “ that the Catholic King was now to look upon
 “ *France* as the Dominion of his Son in Law, and
 “ to be inherited by his Grandson, and therefore
 “ he would consider what peril it might bring to
 “ both, if the Prince of *Condé* were restored to his
 “ greatness in that Kingdom, who only could disturb
 “ the Peace of it, and whose Ambition was so restless,
 “ that they could no longer enjoy Peace, than whilst
 “ he was not in a condition to interrupt it.” The
 Cardinal told him, in confidence, of several Indignities
 offered by the Prince of *Condé* to the Person of the
 Queen, of which her Brother ought to be very sensi-
 ble, and which would absolve him from any Engage-
 ment he had entered into with that Prince; which he
 would never have done, if his Majesty had been fully
 informed of those rude Transgressions. And therefore
 he besought *Don Lewis*, “ that the joy and triumph,
 “ which the King and the Queen would be possessed
 “ of by this Peace and Marriage, might not be cloud-
 “ ed, and even rendered disconsolate, by their being
 “ bound to behold a Man in their presence, who had
 “ so often, and with so much damage, and disdain,
 “ affronted them both; but that the Peace of *France*
 “ might be secured by that Prince’s being for ever
 “ restrained from living in it; which being provided
 “ for, whatsoever his Catholic Majesty should require
 “ in ready Money, or Pensions, to enable the Prince
 “ to live in his just Splendor abroad, should be con-
 “ sented to.”

Don Lewis de Haro was a Man of great Temper, of

a fallow Complexion, Hypochondriac, and never weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to say; what he wanted in acuteness he made up in wariness; and though he might omit the saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say, he never said any thing of which he had occasion to repent. He had a good judgment and understanding, and as he was without any talent of Rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it. He told the Cardinal, “ that he knew well his Master’s Affairs needed a
“ Peace with *France*; and that the accomplishing this
“ Marriage, was the only way to attain it: that the
“ Marriage was the best, and the most honorable in
“ Christendom, and ought to be equally desired on
“ both sides; that his Catholic Majesty was sensible
“ of his own Age, and the infirmities which attended
“ it; and desired nothing more than that, before his
“ death, he might see this Peace and this Marriage
“ finished, and made perfect; and that he was well
“ content to purchase the former at any price, but of
“ his Honor; which was the only thing he preferred
“ even before Peace: that for *Portugal*, the ground-
“ less Rebellion there was so well known to all the
“ World, that he should not go to his Grave in
“ Peace, if he should do any thing which might look
“ like a countenance, or concession to that Title, that
“ was only founded upon Treason and Rebellion;
“ or if he should omit the doing any thing that might,
“ with God’s blessing, of which he could not doubt,
“ reduce that Kingdom to their duty, and his obedience: that his resolution was, as soon as this Peace
“ should be concluded, to apply all the Force and all

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“ the Treasure of his Dominions, to the Invasion of
 “ *Portugal*; which, he hoped, would be sufficient
 “ speedily to subdue it; and was a great part of the
 “ fruit he promised himself from this Peace; and
 “ therefore he would never permit any thing to be
 “ concluded in it, that might leave *France* at liberty
 “ to assist that War: that the Catholic King had done
 “ all he could, both by *Don Antonio Pimentel* and
 “ *Monsieur de Lyonne*, that his most Christian Majesty
 “ might know his unalterable resolution in the point
 “ of *Portugal*, and with reference to the Prince of
 “ *Condé*, before He consented to Treat; and that he
 “ would never depart from what he had declared in
 “ either: that He had made a Treaty with the Prince
 “ of *Condé*; by which he had engaged himself never
 “ to desert his Interest, nor to make a Peace without
 “ providing for his full restitution, and reparation,
 “ and of those who had run his Fortune, and put
 “ themselves under his Protection: that the Prince
 “ had performed all he had undertaken to do, and
 “ had rendered very great Service to his Catholic
 “ Majesty; who would not only rather lose *Flanders*,
 “ but his Crown likewise, than fail in any par-
 “ ticular which he was bound to make good to the
 “ Prince:” and therefore he desired the Cardinal “to
 “ acquiesce in both these particulars, from which he
 “ should not recede in a tittle; in others, he would
 “ not have the same obstinacy.”

When the Cardinal found that all his Art, and
 crafty Eloquence were lost upon *Don Lewis*' want of
 Politeness; and that he could not bend him in the least
 degree in either of these important particulars, he
 resolved

resolved they should pay otherwise for their Idol Honor, and Punctuality; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in *Luxemburgh*, as *Flanders*, and all other Provinces, by which they dismembered all the *Spanish* Dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer Neighbours to the *Hollanders*, than the other desired they should be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the Treaty, to deliver the Town of *Juliers* to the Duke of *Newburgh*, without the payment of any Money for what they had laid out upon the Fortifications; which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that Town did belong of right to the Duke of *Newburgh*, as part of the Duchy of *Juliers*, which was descended to him. But it is as true, that it was preserved by *Spain*, from being possessed by the *Hollanders* many years before, and by Treaty to remain in their hands, till they should receive satisfaction for all their Disbursements. After which time, they erected the Citadel there, and much mended the Fortifications. And this dependance, and expectation, had kept that Prince fast to all the *Spanish* Interest in *Germany*: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true Owner, they got the entire Devotion of the Duke of *Newburgh* to *France*, and so a new Friend to strengthen their Alliance upon the *Rhine*, which was before inconvenient enough to *Spain*, by stopping the resort of any *German* Succours into *Flanders*. And if at any time to come, the *French* shall purchase *Juliers* from the Duke of *Newburgh*, as upon many Accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the

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most advantageous Post to facilitate their enterprises upon *Liege*, or *Cologne*, or to disturb the *Hollanders* in *Maestricht*, or to seize upon *Aquisgrane*, an Imperial Town; and, indeed, to disturb the Peace of *Christendom*.

Of *Portugal* no other care was taken in the Treaty, than that after the *French* King had pompously declared, “he would have given up all his Conquests by the War, provided the King of *Spain* would have consented that all things should remain in *Portugal* as they were at that present” (which Proposition, it was said, his Catholic Majesty had absolutely refused) now “the most Christian King should be allowed three Months time, counting from the day of the Ratification of the Treaty, wherein he might try to dispose the *Portuguese* to satisfy his Catholic Majesty. But after those three Months should be expired, if his good offices should not produce the effect desired, then neither his Most Christian Majesty nor his Successors should give the *Portuguese* any aid or assistance, publicly or secretly, directly or indirectly, by Sea or Land, or in any other manner whatsoever.” And this the ingenuity of the Cardinal thought could never be called renouncing of the King of *Portugal's* Interest.

To the Prince of *Condé* all things were yielded which had been insisted on; and full recompence made to such of his Party as could not be restored to their Offices; as President *Viole*, and some others: yet *Don Lewis* would not sign the Treaty, till he had sent an Express to the Prince of *Condé*, to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the King of *Spain* caused a

great Sum of Money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in *Flanders*, and reward his Officers, who were to be disbanded; a Method *France* did not use at the same time to their Profelytes, but left *Catalonia* to their King's Chastisement, without any provision made for *Don Josepho de Margarita*, and others, who had been the principal Contrivers of those disturbances; and were left to eat the bread of *France*; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their Native Country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new Rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the Engrossments preparing, the Cardinal came one Morning into *Don Lewis* his Chamber with a sad Countenance; and told him, "they had lost all their pains, and the Peace could not be concluded." At which *Don Lewis*, in much disturbance, asked, "what the matter was?" the Cardinal very composedly answered, that "it must not be; that they two were too good Catholics to do any thing against the Pope's infallibility, which would be called in question by this Peace; since his Holiness had declared, that there would be no Peace made;" as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his Pontificate, labored it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the Cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the Season was ripe for it, he should have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two Favorites were to meet, of which he had no Notice, he said in the Consistory, "that he was sure that Cardinal *Mazarin* would not make a

B O O K "Peace." *Don Lewis* was glad that there was no
' XVI. other objection against it; and so all the Company made themselves merry at the Pope's charge.

When the Marquis of *Ormond* discovered by the information he received at *Toulouse*, that the Treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place the King had appointed to meet at, that his Majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found no body; which he imputed to the usual delays in their Journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to *Fuentarabia*, where he heard nothing of the King. Sir *Harry Bennet* was in great perplexity, and complained, very reasonably, that the King neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by his not coming. *Don Lewis* seemed to wonder, that the King had not come thither, whilst the Cardinal and He were together. The Treaty was now concluded; and though the Cardinal remained still at his old Quarters on the *French* side, under some indisposition of the Gout, yet He and *Don Lewis* were to meet no more. But *Don Lewis* was the less troubled that the King had not come sooner, because he had found the Cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the King, very cold, and reserved; and he had magnified the power of the Parliament, and seemed to think his Majesty's hopes desperate; and advised *Don Lewis*, "to
" be wary how he Embarked himself in an Affair that
" had no foundation; and that it was rather time for
" all Catholics to unite to the breaking the power and

“ interest of the Heretical Party, wherever it was,
“ than to strengthen it by restoring the King, except
“ He would become Catholic.” And it is believed by
Wise Men, that, in that Treaty, somewhat was
agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant Interest; and
that, in a short time, there would have been much
done against it both in *France*, and *Germany*, if the
measures they had there taken had not been shortly
broken; chiefly by the surprising Revolution in *Eng-
land* (which happened the next year) and also by the
death of the two great Favorites of the two Crowns,
Don Lewis de Haro, and Cardinal *Mazarin*; who
both died not very long after it; the Cardinal, pro-
bably, struck with the wonder, if not the agony of
that undreamed of prosperity of our King’s Affairs ;
as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God
Almighty would bring such a work to pass in *Europe*
without his concurrence, and even against all his
Machinations.

During the whole time of the Treaty, *Lockhart* had
been at *Bayonne*, and frequently consulted with the
Cardinal, and was by him brought to *Don Lewis* twice
or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that
would redound to both, if a Peace were settled be-
tween *Spain* and *England*. But the Cardinal treated
Lockhart (who was in all other occasions too hard for
him) in such a manner, that, till the Peace was upon
the matter concluded, he did really believe it would
not be made (as appeared by some of his Letters from
Bayonne, which fell into the King’s hands) and to the
last he was persuaded, that *England* should be compre-
hended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

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The King by
mistake went
into Spain
as far as to
Saragossa.

The King, the next day after he had sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to *Toulouse*, received information upon the way, that the Treaty was absolutely ended, and that *Don Lewis* was returned to *Madrid*; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his Journey to *Fuentarabia*; and therefore was easily persuaded by the Earl of *Bristol* to take the nearest way to *Madrid*, by entering into *Spain* as soon as they could; presuming that the Marquis of *Ormond* would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his Majesty. With this resolution, and upon this Intelligence, they continued their Journey till they came to *Saragossa*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Aragon*. Here they received Advertisment, that the Treaty was not fully concluded, and that *Don Lewis* remained still at *Fuentarabia*. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved, that the King, and the Earl of *Bristol*, who had still a mind to *Madrid*, should stay at *Saragossa*, whilst *O Neile* should go to *Fuentarabia*, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

Don Lewis, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill Accident had befallen the King, when Mr. *O Neile* arrived, and informed them by what accident, and misintelligence, the King had resolved to go to *Madrid*, if he had not been better informed at *Saragossa*; where he now remained, till he should receive farther advice. *Don Lewis* was in all the disturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation; he concluded that this was a trick of the Earl of *Bristol*'s; that he held some Intelligence with *Don Juan*, and intended to

carry the King to *Madrid*, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his Privy. They were now to save, and to borrow all the Money they could, to defray the Expenses which must be shortly made for the Interview, Marriage, and delivery of the Infanta, and all this must be spent upon the King of *England's* Entry, and entertainment in *Madrid*; for a King *incognito* was never heard of in *Spain*. The Marriage was concluded and now another young unmarried King must be received, and carested in that Court; which would occasion much discourse both in *Spain* and *France*. All these things his melancholy had made him revolve; nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Sir *Harry Bennet*; who assured him, “that all that was past was by mere mistake, “and without any purpose to decline Him, upon “whose Friendship alone the King absolutely depended;” and undertook positively, “that as soon as his Majesty should be informed of his advice, he would “make all the haste thither he could, without thought “of doing any thing else:” which *Don Lewis* desired might be effected as soon as was possible: So *O Neile* returned to *Saragossa*, and his Majesty, without delay, made his Journey from thence to *Fuentarabia*, with as much expedition as he could use.

Thence returns to Fuentarabia.

The King was received according to the *Spanish* Mode and Generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence that could be showed to his Catholic Majesty himself, if he had been in that place. *Don Lewis* delivered all that could be said from the King, his Master; “how much he was troubled, that

His Treatment there by Don Lewis de Haro.

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“ the condition of his Affairs, and the necessity that
 “ was upon him to make shortly a long Journey,
 “ would not permit him to invite his Majesty to *Ma-*
 “ *drid*, and to treat him in that manner that was suitable
 “ to his Grandeur: that having happily concluded
 “ the Peace, he had now nothing so much in his
 “ thoughts, as how he might be able to give, or pro-
 “ cure such assistance as his Majesty stood in need of;
 “ and that he should never be destitute of any thing,
 “ that His power and interest could help him to.”

Don Lewis for himself made all those professions, which
 could possibly be expected from him. He confessed,
 “ that there was no provision made in the Treaty that
 “ the two Crowns would jointly assist his Majesty;
 “ but, that he believed the Cardinal would be ready
 “ to perform all good Offices towards him; and that,
 “ for his own particular, his Majesty should receive
 “ good Testimony of the profound veneration he had
 “ for him.”

Don Lewis intimated a Wish, that his Majesty
 could yet have some conference with the Cardinal;
 who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon
 the King sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to visit him, and
 to let him know, that his Majesty had a desire to come
 to him, that he might have some conference with him,
 and receive his Counsel and Advice. But the Cardinal
 would by no means admit it; said, “ it would admi-
 “ nister unseasonable jealousy to the Parliament,
 “ without any manner of benefit to the King.” He
 made many large professions, which he could do well,
 of his Affection to the King; desired, “ he would have
 “ patience till the Marriage should be over, which

The Cardinal
 would not see
 the King.

“ would be in the next Spring ; and till then their
“ Majesties must remain in those parts : but, as soon
“ as that should be despatched, the whole Court
“ would return to *Paris*; and that he would not be
“ long there, before he gave the King some evidence
“ of his kindness and respect :” other answer than this
the Marquis could not obtain.

After his Majesty had stayed as long as he thought convenient at *Fuentarabia* (for he knew well that *Don Lewis* was to return to *Madrid* before the King of *Spain* could take any resolution to begin, or order his own Journey, and that he stayed there only to entertain his Majesty) he discerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to *Flanders* ; where, he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the Earl of *Bristol*, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any Man, had wrought himself so much into the good graces of all the *Spaniards*, that *Don Lewis* was willing to take him with him to *Madrid*, and that he should be received into the Service of his Catholic Majesty, in such a Province as should be worthy of him. So that his Majesty had now a less Train to return with him, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three Servants.

Don Lewis, with a million of excuses that their Expenses had been so great, as had wasted all their Money, presented his Majesty with seven thousand gold Pistoles, “ to defray,” as he said, “ the Expenses
“ of his Journey,” with assurance, “ that, when he

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The King's
return to-
wards Flan-
ders by Paris.

He came to
Brussels about
the end of
Decemb.

“ came into *Flanders*, he should find all necessary Orders for his better Accommodation, and carrying “ on his business.” So his Majesty begun his Journey, and took *Paris* in his way to visit the Queen his Mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon removing all former mistakes; and, towards the end of *December*, he returned to *Brussels* in good Health; where he found his two Brothers, the Dukes of *York*, and *Glocester*, impatiently expecting him.

The pleasure and variety of his Journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from *Don Lewis*, with the good disposition he had left the Queen his Mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the King's Spirit, and the Joy for his Return dispersed the present Clouds. But he had not been long at *Brussels* before he discerned the same melancholy and despair in the Countenances of most Men, which he had left there: and though there had some Changes happened in *England*, which might reasonably encourage Men to look for greater, they had so often been disappointed in those Expectations, that it was a reproach to any Man to think that any good could come from thence.

Upon this melancholic conjuncture some about the King began to think of providing a Religion, as well as other conveniences, that might be grateful to those People and Places, where, and with whom they were like to reside. The Protestant Religion was found to be very unagreeable to their Fortune, and they exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the King's own steadiness, of which he gave great indications, Men would have been more out of Countenance to have

owned the Faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would shortly be very manifest to the King, that his Restoration depended wholly upon a Conjunction of Catholic Princes, who could never be united, but on the behalf of Catholic Religion.

The best the King could now look for, seemed to be a permission to remain in *Flanders*, with a narrow assignation for his Bread, which was a melancholic Condition for a King; nor could That be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from *England* and *Spain*, towards a Peace; and the *Spaniard* had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended Conquest of *Portugal*. And what influence any Peace might have upon his Majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no War in *Flanders*, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, could no longer remain in an unactive course of Life; and the Duke of *York* had a great Family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the King. And therefore, when the Marquis of *Carracena* at this time brought the Duke of *York* a Letter from the King of *Spain*, that he would make him *El Admirante del Oceano*, his Highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any Man to be a declared Enemy to their Master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "that it was not such a preferment, that the Duke should so greedily embrace it, before he knew what Conditions he should be subject to, and what he might expect from it

The ill state of his Majesty's affairs there.

The Duke of York invited into Spain.

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“ that the Command had been in a younger Son of
 “ the Duke of *Savoy*, and at another time in a younger
 “ Son of the Duke of *Florence*, who both grew quickly
 “ weary of it; for whatever Title they had, the
 “ whole Command was in the *Spanish* Officers under
 “ Them; and that, if the Duke were there, he might
 “ possibly have a competent Pension to live on Shore,
 “ but would never be suffered to go to Sea under any
 “ Title of Command, till he first changed his Reli-
 “ gion;” all this had no signification with them; but
 they prevailed with his Royal Highness, to return his
 consent, and acceptation of the Office, by the same
 Courier who brought the Letter.

The Lord
 Jermyn came
 to the King
 with Compli-
 ments from
 the Cardinal.

The Marquis of *Carracena* likewise told the King,
 “ that he had received Orders to put all things in a
 “ readiness for his Expedition into *England*, towards
 “ which he would add three thousand Men to those
 “ Troops which his Majesty already had.” At the
 same time the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr. *Walter Moun-*
tague, came to the King from *Paris*, with many Com-
 pliments from the Cardinal, “ that when there should
 “ be a Peace between the two Northern Kings” (for
Sweden and *Denmark* were now in a War) “ *France*
 “ would declare avowedly for the King; but in the
 “ mean time they could only assist him under hand;
 “ and to that purpose, they had appointed three thou-
 “ sand Men to be ready on the Borders of *France*, to be
 “ Transported out of *Flanders*, and thirty thousand
 “ Pistoles to be disposed of by the King to advance
 “ that Expedition.” Sir *Henry Bennet* had sent from
Madrid a Copy of the *Spanish* Orders to the Marquis
 of *Carracena*; by which he was not (as he had told

the King) to add three thousand Men to the King's Troops, but to make those which his Majesty had amount to the Number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the King must be obliged to Embark them in *France*. The Men the Cardinal would provide, must be Embarked in *Flanders*; and they who were to be supplied by *Spain*, must be Embarked in *France*. So that by these two specious pretences, and proffers, the King could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending *England*, and would offer nothing of which his Majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass, that they might new-form their Counsels. And the Lord *Fermyn*, and Mr. *Mountague*, had so little expectation of *England*, that they concurred both in opinion, that the Duke of *York* should embrace the opportunity that was offered from *Spain*: to which they made no doubt the Queen would give Her consent.

In this state of despair the King's Condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of *March*, old Style, 1659: and though his Majesty, and those few intrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in *England*; yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage, that the King thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all Men to cast about for themselves, till they were awakened, and confounded by such a prodigious Act of Providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any Nation, since he led his own chosen People through the *Red Sea*.

BOOK

XVI.

The affairs
of England
after the de-
feat of
Booth and
Middleton.

The Parlia-
ment grows
jealous of
Lambert's
Army.

After the defeat of *Booth* and *Middleton*, and the King's hopes so totally destroyed, the Parliament thought of Transporting the Loyal Families into *Barbadoes*, and *Jamaica*, and other Plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in *England* Children of their Fathers Affections; and, by degrees, so to model their Army that they might never give them more trouble. They had sent *Lambert* a thousand pounds to buy him a Jewel; which he employed better by bestowing it among the Officers, who might well deserve it of him. This bounty of his, was quickly known to the Parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a Party in the Army, that should more depend upon Him than upon Them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by His advice, that they were first dissolved, and that He in truth had helped to make *Cromwell* Protector, upon his promise that He should succeed him; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolved to secure him from doing farther harm, as soon as he should come to the Town.

Lambert, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march (as if all were not safe) to seize upon the Persons of Delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a Peace with all Foreigners, and then to disband their Army, except only some few Regiments, which should consist only of Persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what His portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the

good forgotten. He therefore contrived a Petition, which was signed by the inferior Officers of his Army; in which they desired the Parliament, “that they
“ might be governed, as all Armies used to be, by a
“ General, who might be amongst them, and other
“ Officers according to their Qualities, subordinate
“ to him.” The Address was entitled, *The humble
Petition and Proposals of the Army, under the Command
of the Lord Lambert, in the late Northern Expedition.*

They made a large Recapitulation of “the many
“ Services they had done, which they thought were
“ forgotten; and that now lately they had preserved
“ them from an Enemy, which, if they had been
“ suffered to grow, would, in a short time, have over-
“ run the Kingdom, and engaged the Nation in a
“ new bloody War; to which too many Men were
“ still inclined;” and concluded with a desire, “that
“ they would commit the Army to *Fleetwood*, as
“ General; and that they would appoint *Lambert* to
“ be Major-General.” *Fleetwood* was a weak Man,
but very popular with all the praying part of the
Army; a Man, whom the Parliament would have
trusted, if they had not resolved to have no General,
being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any
Man's; and *Lambert* knew well he could govern
him, as *Cromwell* had done *Fairfax*, and then in the
like manner lay him aside. This Petition was sent by
some trusty Person to some Colonels of the Army, in
whom *Lambert* had confidence, to the end that they
should deliver it to *Fleetwood*, to be by him presented
first to the Council of Officers, and afterwards to the
Parliament. He resolved first to consult with some of

B O O R his Friends for Their advice ; and so it came to the
XVI. notice of *Haslerig*, who immediately informed the
 discovered to Parliament “ of a Rebellion growing in the Army,
Haslerig who “ which, if not suppressed, would undo all they had
 acquaints the “ done.” They, as they were always apt to take
 House with it. “ Alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to
 expect the delivery of the Petition, but sent to *Fleet-*
wood for it. He answered, he had only a Copy, but
 that such Officers, whom he named, had the Original.
 The Officers were presently sent for, but could not be
 found till the Afternoon ; when they produced the
 Petition. Whereupon the Parliament, that they might
 discountenance and exclude any Address of that kind,
 They pass a passed a Vote, “ that the having more general Officers
 Vote to have “ was a thing needless, chargeable, and dangerous to
 no more Ge- “ the Commonwealth.”
 neral Officers.

The Council
 of Officers
 upon this pre-
 pare a Peti-
 tion, and Re-
 presentation
 to the Parlia-
 ment.

This put the whole Army into that distemper, that
Lambert could wish it in ; and brought the Council of
 Officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had
 done since the reviving of the Parliament. They pre-
 pared and presented a Petition and Representation to
 the Parliament ; in which they gave them many good
 words, and assured them of “ their fidelity towards
 “ them ; but yet that they would so far take care for
 “ their own preservation, that they would not be at
 “ the Mercy of their Enemies ;” and implied, that
 they having no way forfeited their Rights of Freemen,
 had likewise Privileges, which they would not quit ;
 and then seconded the proposals of the Northern
 Brigade with more warmth, and desired, “ that what-
 “ ever Persons should for the future groundlessly in-
 “ form the Parliament against them, creating jealousies,
 and

“ and casting scandalous imputations upon them,
 “ may be brought to examination, justice, and con-
 “ dign punishment.”

The Parliament, that was governed by *Vane*, and *Haslerig* (the Heads of the Republic-Party, though of very different Natures, and Understandings) found there would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but that one Side must be suppressed. They resolved therefore to take away all hope of Subsistence from the Army, if they should be inclined to make any alteration in the Government by force. In order thereunto they declared, “ that it should be Treason
 “ in any Person whatsoever to raise, levy, and collect
 “ Money, without consent in Parliament.” Then they made void all Acts for Custom, and Excise; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the Army, except they would prey upon the People, which could not hold long. Next they cashiered *Lambert*, and eight other principal Officers of the Army; with whom they were most offended, for subscribing a Letter to all the other Forces desiring their concurrence with the Army in *London*, and conferred their Regiments and Commands upon other Persons, in whom they could confide; and committed the whole Government of the Army into the hands of seven Commissioners; who were, *Fleetwood* (whom they believed to have a great Interest in the Army, and so durst not totally disoblige him) *Ludlow* (who commanded the Army in *Ireland*) *Monk* (who was their General in *Scotland*) *Haslerig*, *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Overton*; who were all upon the place.

The Parliament declare it Treason to raise Money without consent of Parliament; and make void all Money Acts. They cashier *Lambert*, and eight other principal Officers of the Army. They make seven Commissioners to govern the Army.

The Army was too far engaged to retire, and it was

B O O K unskilfully done by the Parliament to provoke so
XVI. many of them, being not sure of a competent strength to execute their Orders. But they had a great presumption upon the City; and had already forgotten, how the Army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the Parliament had much more reputation, and the Army less terror. The Nine cashiered Officers were resolved not to part with their Commands, nor would the Soldiers submit to their new Officers; and both Officers and Soldiers consulted their Affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at *Westminster* the next Morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

The Parlia-
 ment sent
 for Forces to
 defend them,
 and for the
 City-Militia.

The Parliament, to encounter this design, sent their Orders to those Regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next Morning at *Westminster* to defend them from force; and likewise sent into the City to draw down their Militia. Of the Army, the next Morning, there appeared two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horse; who were well Armed, and ranged themselves in the *Palace-yard*, with a Resolution to oppose all force that should attempt the Parliament. *Lambert* intended they should have little to do there; and divided his Party in the Army to the several places by which the City-Militia could come to *Westminster*, with order "that they" should suffer none to march that way, or to come "out of the Gates;" then placed himself with some Troops in *King-street*, and before *White-Hall*, to expect when the Speaker would come to the House; who, at his accustomed hour, came, in his usual State, guarded with his Troop of Horse. *Lambert* rode up

Lambert
draws some
Troops toge-
ther, stops
the Speaker,
and makes
him go home.

to the Speaker, and told him, "there was nothing to be done at *Westminster*," and therefore advised him "to return back again to his House:" which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his Guard to make way. Upon which *Lambert* rode to the Captain, and pulled him off his Horse; and bid Major *Creed*, who had formerly Commanded that Troop, to mount into his Saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the Mace, and bid Major *Creed* conduct Mr. *Lenthal* to his House. Whereupon they made his Coach-man turn, and without the least contradiction the Troop marched very quietly, till he was alighted at his own House; and then disposed of themselves as their new Captain commanded them.

When they had thus secured themselves from any more Votes, *Lambert* sent to those who had been ordered into the *Palace-yard* by the Parliament, to withdraw to their Quarters; which they refused to do, at which he smiled, and bid them then to stay there; which they did till towards the Evening: but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the Parliament sat not, they desired that they might repair to their Quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their Officers were cashiered; and such sent to command as *Lambert* thought fit; who found all submission and obedience from the Soldiers, though no body yet knew who had power to command them. There was no Parliament, nor any Officer in the Army who was by his Commission above the degree of a Colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own Regiment.

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The Officers
meet, and
chuse Fleet-
wood Gene-
ral, &c.

Whereupon the Officers of the Army meet together and declare, “that the Army finding itself without
“a General, or other general Officers, had Themsel-
“ves made choice of *Fleetwood* to be their General,
“and of *Lambert* to be their Major-General, and of
“*Desborough* to be Commissary-General of the Horse;
“and that they bound themselves to obey them in
“their several Capacities, and to adhere to, and
“defend them.” Upon the publishing this Declaration, they assumed their several Provinces; and the whole Army took Commissions from their new General; and were as much united, as if they were under *Cromwell*; and looked upon it as a great deliverance, that they should no more be subject to the Parliament; which they all detested.

Vane's and
Haslerig's
parts in this
business.

But these Generals were not at ease; they knew well upon what slippery ground they stood: the Parliament had stopped all the Channels in which the Revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of Custom and Excise; and to revive these Impositions, by which the Army might receive their Wages, required another Authority than of the Army itself. The divisions in the Parliament, had made the outrage that was committed upon it less reproachful. *Vane*, who was much the wisest Man, found he could never make that Assembly settle such a Government as He affected, either in Church or State: and *Haslerig*, who was of a rude, and stubborn Nature, and of a weak understanding, concurred only with him in all the fierce Counsels, which might more irrecoverably disinheret the King, and root out his Majesty's Party: in all other things relating to the Temporal, or

Ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different Judgements, but of extraordinary animosity against each other. BOOK
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Vane was a Man not to be described by any Character of Religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies, and extravagancies of every Sect, or Faction; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other Language than was peculiar to that time) *a Man above Ordinances*, unlimited, or unrestrained by any rules, or bounds prescribed to other Men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect Enthusiast; and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding (which in all matters without the Verge of Religion was Superior to that of most Men) that he did at some time believe, he was the Person deputed to Reign over the Saints upon Earth for a thousand years.

Haslerig was, as to the State, perfectly Republican and as to Religion, perfectly Presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a King or a Bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the Parliament to be the only Government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his Credit in the House was greater than the other's; which made *Vane* less troubled at the Violence that was used (though he would never advise it) and appear willing enough to confer, and join with those who would find any other hinge to hang the Government upon: so he presently entered into conversation with those of the Army, who were most like to have Authority.

A Model of such a Government, as the People must

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XVI.

A Committee
of Safety
constituted
by the Army.

acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much Agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great Authority to their Counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, “that a
“ Number of Persons should be chosen, who, under
“ the style of a *Committee of Safety*, should assume the
“ present entire Government, and have full power to
“ revive all such Orders, or to make new, which
“ might be necessary for raising of Money, or for
“ doing any thing else which should be judged for
“ the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and to con-
“ sider and determine, what form of Government
“ was fit to be erected, to which the Nation was to
“ submit.” They also declared “all the Orders, Acts,
“ or pretended Acts made in Parliament on the 10, 11,
“ and 12 of *October*, before their Interruption, to be
“ void and null to all intents and purposes, as if they
“ had never been.”

To this new Invention, how wild soever, they believed the People would be persuaded, with the Assistance of the Army, to pay a temporary Obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the Number of this *Committee of Safety* should consist of three-and-twenty Persons; six or seven Officers of the Army, whereof *Fleetwood*, *Lambert* and *Desborough* were three; *Ireton*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and *Tichburn*, the two principal Officers of the Militia of the City, with four or five more Citizens of more private Names; but Men tried, and faithful to the Republic Interest, and not like to

give any countenance to Presbyterians (for they were very jealous of that Party generally) besides three or four others of those who had been the King's Judges, with *Warreston*, *Vane*, *Steel*, and *Whitlock*, whom they made Keeper of their Great-Seal. B O O K
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Thus having chosen each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole Legislative Power of the Nation, and proclaimed themselves *the Committee of Safety for the Kingdom*, and required all People to pay them Obedience, and issued out their Warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to which there appeared a general submission and acquiescence, that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own Tribe in any Parts, they sent Colonel *Cobbet* to *Scotland*, to persuade General *Monk* to a concurrence with them; and because they were not confident of him (there being great emulation between Him and *Lambert*) to work upon as many of his Officers as he could; there being many in that Army of whose Affections they were well assured; and, at the same time, they sent another Colonel into *Ireland*, to dispose the Army there to a submission to their Power and Authority. Cobbet sent
into Scotland
to Monk.

And another
to the Army
in Ireland.

Before the Parliament was Routed, they discerned what *Lambert's* Intrigues would shortly produce; and therefore had writ to *Monk*, "that he would take care of his Army, lest it should be corrupted against him, which they knew was endeavouring;" and *Haslerig*, who had some Friendship with him, writ particularly to him "to continue firm to the Parliament;" and to assure him, "that before *Lambert* should be able to be near him to give him any

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Haslerig,
Walton and
Morley go to
Portsmouth.

“trouble, he would give him other divertisement.” And some time after *Lambert* had acted that Violence upon the Speaker, so that they could meet no more, *Haslerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, three of the Commissioners of the Government of the Army, went to *Portsmouth*; where Colonel *Whetham* the Governor was their Friend, and devoted to the Presbyterian-Republican Party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; Others, and the most considerable of that Party, professing “that they much desired “Monarchical Government, and the Person of the “King, so that they might have him without Episcopacy, and enjoy the Lands of the Church;” which they had divided among them. These three were well received at *Portsmouth*; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the Governor turned all such Officers and Soldiers out of the Town, who were suspected to be, or might be made of the Party of the Army; and Colonel *Morley*, whose Interest was in *Suffex*, easily drew in enough of his Friends, to make them very secure in their Garrison; which the *Committee of Safety* thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the Kingdom were at their Devotion; nor did the matter itself much trouble them; for they knew that *Haslerig* would never be induced to serve the King, whose Interest only could break all their Measures.

Monk writes
to the Officers

But this open declaring of *Portsmouth* for the Parliament happened not till the following *December*. That which gave them real trouble was, that they received bold Letters from *Monk*, about the end of *October*; who presumed to censure, and find fault

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of the Army
declaring for
the Parlia-
ment.
Possesses Ber-
wick: Impri-
sons Cobbet;
and purges
his Army of
Fanatics.

with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the Parliament, from whom they had all their Power and Authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of *Berwick*. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as *Cobbet* came into *Scotland*, he was committed close Prisoner to *Edinburgh*-Castle; and that *Monk* used extraordinary diligence to purge his Army, and turned all the Fanatics, and other Persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to *Lambert*, and his Party, both out of the Army, and the Kingdom; sending them under a Guard into *Berwick*, and from thence dismissing them into *England*, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in *Scotland*. This was an Alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect *Monk* to be of their Party: besides that they had always looked upon him as entirely devoted to the Person of *Cromwell*; otherwise, without obligation to any Party or Opinion, and more like to be seduced by the King, than any Man who had Authority in the three Kingdoms: therefore they resolved to send *Lambert*, with their whole Army into the North, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some Troops to guard themselves, and keep the Town quiet, and some others to send to *Portsmouth*, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder the Garrison there from making Incursions into the two Neighbour-Counties of *Sussex*, and *Hampshire*, where they had many Friends.

Lambert sent
against him.

Whilst all preparations were making for the Army to march towards *Scotland*, the Committee of Safety

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They send
Clarges, &c.
to Monk.

Monk's an-
swer to them.

He appoints
three Com-
missioners to
treat with
the Officers of
the Army at
London.

resolved once more to try if they could induce *Monk* to a conjunction with them ; and to that purpose they sent to him two such Persons as they thought might be grateful to him ; of whom one was his Wife's Brother ; and after them some Officers of the Army, and two Independent Ministers, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his Friends. He received these Men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions " that he desired nothing more, than to unite
" Himself and his Army with that of *England*, pro-
" vided that there might be a Lawful power, to
" which they might all be subject : but that the Force
" that had been used upon the Parliament, was an
" Action of such a Nature, that was destructive to
" all Government, and that it would be absolutely
" necessary to restore that to its Freedom, Rights,
" and Privileges ; which being done, he would use
" all the instance and credit he had to procure an Act
" of Pardon, and Oblivion, for all that had been done
" amiss ; and this would unite both Parliament and
" Army for the public Safety, which was apparently
" threatened and shaken by this disunion." He
added, " that he so much desired Peace and Union,
" and so little thought of using Force, that he would
" appoint three Officers of his Army, *Wilks*, *Clobery*,
" and *Knight*, to go to *London*, and treat with the
" Committee of Safety, of all particulars necessary there-
" unto." When the Persons sent from *London* gave
an Account of their reception, and of the great pro-
fessions the General made, and his resolution to send a
Committee to treat upon the Accommodation, the

Committee of Safety was very well pleased, and concluded, that the fame of their Army's march had frightened him: so that, as they willingly embraced the Overture of a Treaty, they likewise appointed *Lambert* to hasten his March, and to make no stay, till he should come to *New-Castle*. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his Army still increasing till he came thither.

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They at
London
accept of a
Treaty.

General *Monk* was a Gentleman of a very good Extraction, of a very ancient Family in *Devonshire*, always very Loyally affected. Being a younger Brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a Soldier, upon that Stage where some of all *Europe* then acted, between the *Spaniard* and the *Dutch*; and had the reputation of a very good Foot-Officer in the *Lord Vere's* Regiment in *Holland*, at the time when he assigned it to the Command of *Colonel Goring*. When the first Troubles begun in *Scotland*, *Monk*, and many other Officers of the Nation, left the *Dutch* Service, and betook themselves to the Service of the King. In the beginning of the *Irish* Rebellion, he was sent thither, with the Command of the *Lord Leiceſter's* own Regiment of Foot (who was then Lieutenant of *Ireland*) and continued in that Service with singular reputation of courage, and conduct. When the War broke out in *England* between the King and the Parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the Parliament: which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appeared by his behaviour at *Nantwich*, where he was taken Prisoner, and remained in

A particular
account of
General
Monk.

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the Tower till the end of the War. For though his behaviour had been such in *Ireland*, when the Transportation of the Regiment from thence, to serve the King in *England*, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his Regiment should be sent on that Expedition, and his Answer to the Lord of *Ormond* was so rough, and doubtful, that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the Command of the Regiment to *Harry Warren*, the Lieutenant-Colonel of it, an excellent Officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those Regiments were sent to *Chester*, and there were others at the same time sent to *Bristol*, and with them *Monk* went under some Cloud, and from *Bristol* to the King at *Oxford*, where he was known to many Persons of Quality (and his eldest Brother being at the same time most zealous in the King's Service in the West, and most useful) his professions were so sincere (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation) that all Men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the King was willing to send him into the West, where the Gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old Friends and Companions; and so, with the King's leave, made all haste towards *Chester*; where he arrived the very day before the Defeat at *Nantwich*; and though his Lieutenant-Colonel was very desirous to give up the Command again to him, and to receive his Orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a Volunteer, in the first Rank, with a Pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was

said, taken Prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other Officers sent to *Hull*, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of *London*.

He was no sooner there, than the Lord *Lisle*, who had great kindness for him, and good Interest in the Parliament, with much importunity endeavoured to persuade him to take a Commission in that Service, and offered him a Command Superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in Prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his Exchange, nor Money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several Officers of the same Quality for his Exchange; which was always refused; there having been an Ordinance made, "that no Officer who had been Transported out of *Ireland*, should ever be exchanged;" so that most of them remained still in Prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other Prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the King's condition, which could not provide Money enough for their supply; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

When the War was at an end, and the King a Prisoner, *Cromwell* prevailed with *Monk* for his liberty and preferment, to engage himself again in the War of *Ireland*. And, from that time, *Monk* continued very firm to *Cromwell*; who was liberal, and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the Command of *Scotland* into his hands, he feared nothing from those Quarters; nor

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was there any Man in either of the Armies, upon whose fidelity to himself *Cromwell* more depended. And those of his Western Friends, who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any Attempt upon him, whilst *Cromwell* lived. But as soon as He was dead, *Monk* was generally looked upon as a Man more inclined to the King, than any other in great Authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His Elder Brother had been entirely devoted to the King's Service, and all his Relations were of the same faith. He himself had no fumes of Fanaticism to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependance upon any who were swayed by those trances.

He had a younger Brother, a Divine, who had a Parsonage in *Devonshire*, and had, through all the ill times, carried himself with singular Integrity; and, being a Gentleman of a good Family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the King. Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and Sir *John Grenvil*, who had both Friendship for the General, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his Brother, advised with him, "whether, since *Cromwell* was now gone, " and in all reason it might be expected that his death " would be attended with a general Revolution, by " which the King's Interest would be again disputed, " he did not believe, that the General might be " wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to serve the " King, in which, they thought, he would be sure to " meet with a universal concurrence from the whole " *Scottish Nation*." The honest Clergy-man thought the Overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it

might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a Journey to his Brother into *Scotland*, upon pretence of a visit (there having been always a brotherly Affection performed between them) and directly to propose it to him. *Pollard* and *Greenvil* informed the King of this design ; and believed well themselves of what they wished so much, and desired his Majesty's Approbation, and Instruction. The King had reason to approve it ; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a Negotiation. Whereupon his Brother begun his Journey towards *Edinburgh*, where the General received him well. But after he had staid some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what Errand he came, He soon dismissed him, without discovering to him any inclination to the business he came about, advising him "to return
" no more to him with such Propositions."

In truth, at that time, the General had not given the least public proof that he had any thought, or purpose of contributing to the King's Restoration, which he might possibly think to be desperate. Some rather believed, that the disposition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did arise from divers Accidents, which fell out in the course of Affairs, and seemed even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conduced so much to his greatness and glory : yet from that very time, his Brother's Inclinations to the King being known, and his Journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in *Scotland* that he had a purpose to serve the King ; which his Majesty took no pains to disclaim either there, or in *England*.

Now upon the several sudden Changes in *England*,

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Monk's jealousy of Lambert before this time.

and the Army's possessing itself of the entire Government, *Monk* saw he should be quickly over-run and destroyed by *Lambert's* greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the North, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into Treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other Party that would own and avow the Parliament's Interest, as He had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his purpose, than his own profit and honor, under the establishment of that Government.

He calls together an Assembly of the Scottish Nation.

When he heard of *Lambert's* being passed *York*, and his making haste to *New-Castle*, and had purged out of his Army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called together an Assembly, somewhat resembling a Convention of the States of *Scotland*; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other power over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce that People to an entire submission to that Tyrannical Yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was Friendly and Companiable enough; and as he was feared by the Nobility, and hated by the Clergy, so he was not unloved by the Common-People, who received more Justice, and less Oppression from him, than they had been accustomed to under their own Lords. When this Convention appeared before him, he told them, “ that he had received a Call from Heaven, and “ Earth, to march with his Army into *England*, for “ the better settlement of the Government there; and “ though

His discourse to them.

“ though he did not intend his absence should be
“ long, yet he foresaw that there might be some
“ disturbance of the Peace which they enjoyed; and
“ therefore he expected, and desired, that, in any
“ such occasion, they would be ready to join with
“ the Forces he left behind in their own defence.” In
the second place, which was indeed all he cared for
from them, he very earnestly pressed them, “ that they
“ would pay in a present Sum of Money out of the
“ Arrears of their Taxes, for supplying the necessities
“ of the Army, without which it could not well
“ march into *England*.”

From the time that he had settled his Government
in that Kingdom, he had showed more kindness to,
and used more familiarity with such Persons as were
most notorious for Affection to the King, as finding
them a more direct and punctual People than the rest:
and when these Men resorted to him upon this Con-
vention, though they could draw nothing from him
of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he
was very well content they should believe that he
carried with him very good Inclinations to the King;
by which imagination of theirs, he received great
Advantage: for they payed him the Arrears of a
twelve Months Tax over the Kingdom; which com-
plied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw
his Army together. And after he had assigned those
whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and after-
wards put them under the Command of Major-Ge-
neral *Morgan*, he marched with the rest to *Berwick*;
where a good part of His Horse and Foot expected
him; having refused to ratify the Treaty signed by

B O O K his Commissioners at *London*, and committed Colonel
XVI. *Wilks*, one of them, upon his return to *Scotland*, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his Instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another Treaty to be held at *New-Castle*; which, though he knew it would be governed by *Lambert*, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion, in *the Committee of Safety*, that he was inclined to an accommodation of Peace.

Lambert comes with his Army to *New-Castle* towards the end of November.

It was towards the end of *November*, that *Lambert* with his Army arrived at *New-Castle*, where he found the Officers and Soldiers whom *Monk* had cashiered; and who, he persuaded the People, had deserted *Monk*, for his infidelity to the Common-wealth, and that most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so too, as soon as he should be within distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his *Committee of Safety*, which it was like to stand in need of. *Haslerig* and *Morley* were now looked upon, as the Persons invested with the Authority of Parliament, whose Interest was supported by them; and the Officer, who was sent by *the Committee of Safety* to restrain them in *Portsmouth*, or rather to restrain Persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his Soldiers; who declared "that they would serve the Parliament," and so went into *Portsmouth*; and another Officer, who was sent with a stronger Party to second them, discovering, or fomenting the same Affections in his Soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place:

The Soldiers before *Portsmouth* revolted to it.

so that they were now grown too Numerous to be contained within that Garrison, but were Quartered to be in readiness to march whither their Generals, *Hastlerig* and *Morley*, would conduct them.

The City took new courage from hence; and what the Masters durst not publicly own, the Apprentices did, their dislike, of the present Government; and flocking together in great Multitudes, declared, "that they would have a free Parliament."

And though Colonel *Hewson* (a bold Fellow, who had been an ill Shoemaker, and afterwards Clerk to a

Brewer of small Beer) who was left to guard *the Committee of Safety*, suppressed that Commotion by marching into the City, and killing some of the Apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the City the more

The City Apprentices rise, but are suppressed by Hewson.

against the Army; which, they said, "was only kept "on foot to murder the Citizens." And it was said,

they caused a Bill of Indictment to be prepared against *Hewson* for those Murders. The Common-Council

appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by *the*

Committee of Safety; which begun to be universally abhorred, as like to be the Original of such another

Tyranny as *Cromwell* had erected, since it wholly depended upon the Power and Spirit of the Army:

though on the other hand, the Committee protested and declared to them, "that there should be a Parlia-

"ment called to meet together in *February* next, under such Qualifications and Restrictions, as might

"be sure to exclude such Persons who would destroy "them." But this gave no satisfaction, every Man

remembering the Parliament that had been packed by *Cromwell*.

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Lawson and
the Fleet de-
clare for the
Parliament,
and come into
the River.

But that which broke the heart of *the Committee of Safety*, was the revolt of their Favorite Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, a Man at that time appearing at least as much Republican, as any amongst them; as much an Independent, as much an Enemy to the Presbyterians and to the Covenant, as Sir *Harry Vane* himself; and a great dependent upon Sir *Harry Vane*; and one whom they had raised to that Command in the Fleet, that they might be sure to have the Sea-men still at their devotion. This Man, with his whole Squadron, came into the River, and declared for the Parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent Sir *Harry Vane*, and two others of great intimacy with *Lawson*, to confer with him; who, when they came to the Fleet, found Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and two others, Members of the Parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their Charms; and told them, “that he
“ would submit to no Authority but that of the
“ Parliament.”

Hasslerig and
Morley march
from Portf-
mouth to-
wards London.

Upon the Fame of this, *Hasslerig* and *Morley* resolved with their Troops to leave *Portsmouth*, and to march towards *London*, where their Friends now prevailed so much. And the news of this march raised new thoughts in those Soldiers who had been left by *Lambert* to execute any Orders, which they should receive from *the Committee of Safety*. The Officers of these Regiments had been Cashiered by the Council of Officers, or *the Committee of Safety*, for adhering to the Parliament; and their Commands having been given to other Men, who had been discountenanced by the Parliament, the Regiments for a time appeared

as much confirmed in the Interest of the Army, as could be wished. But these Cashiered Officers, upon so great revolutions in the City and the Navy, and the news of the Advance of *Hastlerig* and *Morley*, resolved to confer with their old Soldiers, and try whether they had as much Credit with them as their new Officers; and found so much encouragement, that, at a time appointed, they put themselves into the heads of their Regiments, and marched with them into the Field; whence, after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the Parliament, they all marched into *Chancery Lane* to the House of the Speaker; and professed their resolution to live and die with the Parliament, and never more to swerve from their Fidelity to it.

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The Soldiers
in London
resolve to
restore the
Parliament;
and wait on
the Speaker.

Lambert, upon the first news of the froward Spirit in the City, had sent back *Desborough's* Regiment; which was now marched as near *London* as *St. Albans*; where, hearing what their fellows at *Westminster*, with whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not to be the last in their Submission; but declared that they likewise were for the Parliament; and gaye the Speaker notice of their Obedience. In all these several Tergiversations of the Soldiers, General *Fleetwood* remained still in consultations with the Committee of Safety; and when any Intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the Soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his Knees to his Prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all

Desborough's
Regiment
revolt to the
Parliament.
The behaviour
of *Fleetwood*
at this time.

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to Prayers, and put himself upon his Knees before them: and when some of his Friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the Charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him, than "that God had spit in his face, and would not hear him:" so that Men ceased to wonder why *Lambert* had preferred him to the Office of General, and been content with the second Command for himself.

Lenthall goes
into the City;

Lenthall the Speaker, upon this new Declaration of the Soldiers, recovered his Spirit, and went into the City, conferred with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and declared to them, "that the Parliament would meet (though not immediately) within very few days." For, as the Members were not many, who were alive, and suffered to meet as the Parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own Authority, removed the Lieutenant, who had been confirmed there by the *Committee of Safety*; and put Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and other Members of the Parliament, into the Government and Command of the Tower.

Changes the
Command of
the Tower.

The Parlia-
ment meets
again at West-
minster.

All things being in this good Order, He and the Members met again together at *Westminster*, on *December* the 26th, and assumed the Government of the three Kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their Act against the payment of Excise and Customs; and put those Collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without Money to pay their Profelyte-Forces, and to carry on their

other Expenses. Then they appointed Commissioners to direct the Quarters into which the Army should be put; and made an Order, that all the Troops under the Command of *Lambert*, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those Quarters to which they were assigned.

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They order
Lambert's
Troops to
their several
Quarters.

This Man was now in a disconsolate condition: as *Monk* approached nearer to him, very many of his Soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The Lord *Fairfax* had raised Forces, and possessed himself of *York*, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last Order of the Parliament so entirely stripped *Lambert* of his Army, that there remained not with him above one hundred Horse; all the rest returned to their Quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the Officers of the Army, who had been formerly Cashiered by the Parliament, and had resumed their Commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their Charges, and committed Prisoners to their own Houses. Sir *Harry Vane*, and divers other Members of the House who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were likewise confined to their own Houses: so that the Parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute Authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition, or contradiction.

Lambert's
Army separates; and He is committed to the Tower. Vane, and Others who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, confined to their own Houses.

The other Changes and Fluctuations had still administered some hopes to the King, and the daily breaking out of new Animosities amongst the Chief Ministers of the former Mischiefs, disposed Men to

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Upon this Re-
turn of the
Parliament
the King's
Affairs
seemed more
desperate.

The Condition
of the King
at Brussels.

believe that the Government might at last rest upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very sharp Engagement between *Lambert* and *Monk* might make their parts of the Army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all Parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new Parliament; in the Election whereof there was a reasonable belief, that the general temper of the People would chuse Sober and Wise Men, who would rather bind up the Wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. *The Committee of Safety* had neither received the Reverence, nor inculcated the Fear, which any Government must do, that was to last any time. But this surprising Resurrection of the Parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only Image of Power that was most formidable to the King and his Party, seemed to pull up all their hopes by the Roots, and was interpreted by that Party, as an Act of Providence to establish their Monstrous Murders and Usurpation. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to Posterity, that there were very few Men, who bore a part in these Changes and giddy Revolutions, who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the King's Restoration, or who wished well to his Interest; they who did so, being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze, what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this Confusion. This was the true State of Affairs when the King returned from *Fuentarabia* to *Brussels*, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder, that

there was that dejection of Spirit upon those about his Majesty; and that the Duke of *York*, who saw so little hope of returning into *England*, was well pleased with the Condition that was offered him in *Spain*, and that his Servants were impatient to find him in possession of it. B O O K
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Whilst the divisions had continued in the Army, and the Parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and no body imagined a possibility of any composition without Blood, the Cardinal himself, as is said before, and the *Spanish* Ministers, seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the King's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging Animosities composed, or suppressed, without one broken head, and those very Men again in possession of the Government and the Army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those pre-eminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the Parliament as more securely settled against Domestic disturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their Neighbours, than it had been under *Cromwell* himself; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm Alliances with it.

There remained only within the King's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that *Monk's* march into *England* might yet produce some alteration. His Majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal Officers in his Army, who were much trusted by him, and had promised great Services; and it was presumed that they would

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But, I say, these were but faint hopes, grounded upon such probabilities as despairing Men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those Officers had honest Inclinations; and, as Wise Men, had concluded, that, from those frequent Shuffles, some Game at last might fall out that might prove to the King's Advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the Persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appeared they ever gave the General the least cause to imagine they had any such Affection; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. And it was the King's great happiness, that the General never owned his purpose to serve his Majesty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the best thing in his power

to do. If he had declared his resolution sooner, he had been destroyed himself; the whole Machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a Divine hand; and it is Glory enough to his Memory, that he was God's Instrument in bringing those mighty things to pass, which, undoubtedly, no one Man living had, of himself, either Wisdom enough to foresee, or Understanding to contrive, or Courage to attempt, and execute.

When the Parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that General *Monk* was again in his old Quarters in *Scotland*. But as he continued his march towards *London*, without expecting their Orders, so they knew not how to Command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great Service: yet they sent to him their desire, "that a good part of his Forces might be sent back to *Scotland*;" and He, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any Work they could have to do in those Northern parts, continued his march with an Army of about five thousand Foot and Horse, consisting of such Persons in whose Affections to him he had full Confidence. When he came to *York*, he found that City in the possession of the Lord *Fairfax*; who received him with open Arms, as if he had drawn those Forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the Army's possessing it, and to make *Monk's* Advance into *England* the less interrupted.

The truth is, that, upon a Letter from the King, The Lord

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Monk marches
towards
London.

The Parlia-
ment desire,
that part of
his Forces
may be sent
back to
Scotland.

Monk comes
to York.

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Fairfax's part
in this whole
business.

delivered to *Fairfax* by *Sir Horatio Townsend*, and with his sole privity, and upon a presumption that General *Monk* brought good Affections with him for his Majesty's Service, that Lord had called together some of his old disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and many principal Gentlemen of the Country, and marched in the head of them into *York*, some time after that *Lambert* was passed towards *New-Castle*, with a full resolution to declare for the King; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with *Monk*, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the Testimony of his own Conscience, and presently dismissed his Troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal Gentlemen of that large County, presented their desires to the General, first in Person, and afterwards in Writing, “ that he would be instrumental to restore the Nation
“ to Peace and Security, and to the enjoying those
“ Rights and Liberties, which by the Law were due
“ to them, and of which they had been robbed and
“ deprived by so many years distractions; and that,
“ in order thereunto, he would prevail, either for the
“ restoring those Members which had been excluded
“ in the year 1648 by Force and Violence, that they
“ might exercise that Trust the Kingdom had reposed
“ in them; or that a free and full Parliament might
“ be called by the Votes of the People; to which all
“ Subjects had a Right by their Birth.”

Addressees to
Monk from
all Counties
as he passed.
The City sent
to him by

The principal Persons of all Counties through which the General passed, flocked to him in a Body with Addresses to the same purpose. The City of *London* sent a Letter to him by their Sword-Bearer as

far as to *Morpeth*, to offer their Service; and all concluded for a free Parliament, legally chosen by the free Votes of the People. He received all with much civility, and few words; took all occasions publicly to declare "that nothing should shake his fidelity to the present Parliament;" yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, "that he would procure a free Parliament:" so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

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their Sword-
Bearer to the
same purpose.
His manner
of receiving
these Ad-
dresses.

The Parliament was far from being confident that *Monk* was above temptation: the manner of his march with such a Body, his receiving so many Addresses from the People, and his treating Malignants so civilly, startled them much; and though his Professions of fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all determinations to Their Wisdom, had a good Aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the People, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that licence of Addresses, and resort of Malignants, they sent two of their Members of most credit with them, *Scot* and *Robinson*, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the Service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance, and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any Delinquents. But this served but to draw more Affronts upon them; for those Gentlemen who were civilly used by the General, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose Persons they had all Contempt; and for the

The Parlia-
ment sends
Scot and
Robinson
to meet him.

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Authority of those who sent them, had no kind of reverence. As soon as the City knew of the deputing those two Members, they likewise sent four of their principal Citizens, to perform the same Compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free Parliament, as the remedy all Men desired.

At St. Albans
he sent to the
Parliament to
have the other
Regiments
removed out
of Town.

He continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St. *Albans*. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the Parliament, "that he had some
" apprehension that those Regiments and Troops of
" the Army who had formerly deserted them, though
" for the present they were returned to their obedience, would not live peaceably with his Men;" and therefore desired that all the Soldiers (except one or two Regiments, which he named) "who were then
" quartered in the *Strand*, *Westminster*, or other
" Suburbs of the City, might be presently removed,
" and sent to more distant Quarters, that there might
" be room for his Army." This Message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them; and made them see their Fate would still be under the force and awe of an Army. However they found it necessary to comply; and sent their Orders to all Soldiers to depart; which, with the reason and ground of their resolution, was so disdainfully received, that a Mutiny did arise amongst the Soldiers; and the Regiment that was Quartered in *Somerſet-House*, expressly refused to obey those Orders; so that there were like to be new Uproars. But their Officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an occasion, were under restraint, or absent: and so at last all was well composed, and Officers and Soldiers removed

The Parlia-
ment gives
Orders
accordingly.

to the Quarters assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of *February*, General *Monk* with his Army marched through the City into the *Strand*, and *Westminster*, where it was Quartered; his own Lodgings being provided for him in *White-Hall*.

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Monk marches
in about the
beginning of
February.

He was shortly after conducted to the Parliament. There he had a Chair appointed for him to sit in; and the Speaker made him a Speech to this effect, "that
" though it was God, and not Man, who had done
" this great work, and ought to have the Glory of it;
" yet the Influence of that Glory extended to Him
" the Instrument, as a reward of his prudent and wise
" Conduct: that when their Friends had left them,
" and there was a great defection in duty and trust,
" so that the whole Nation seemed to be exposed to
" the utmost ruin; they discerned, as the Prophet
" did, a little Cloud afar off, and in His hand which
" had dispersed the Miseries of these Nations, and
" was become a glorious Mercy to them all: that
" the House had a true resentment of his Service, and
" returned their hearty thanks to Him, and all his
" Officers and Soldiers."

He is con-
ducted to the
Parliament
and compli-
mented by
the Speaker.

The General was not a Man of Eloquence or Volubility of Speech; but after having thanked them,
" for the honor they had done him for but doing his
" duty; he told them, that, in his march from *Scot-*
" *land*, several Applications, with numerous Subscrip-
" tions, had been made to him, for a full and free
" Parliament, for admittance of the secluded Mem-
" bers without any previous Oath or Engagement;

Monk's Reply.

B O O K
XVI.

“ and that this Parliament would determine their
Sitting: to all which he had answered, “ that they were
“ now a free Parliament; and that they had voted to
“ fill up their House, and then they would be a full
“ Parliament; and that they had already determined
“ their Sitting. But as for the secluded Members,
“ this Parliament had already given judgment in it,
“ in which all People ought to acquiesce; and that
“ to admit any Members to sit in Parliament, without
“ a previous Oath to preserve the Government in
“ being, was never done in *England*. But now he
“ craved pardon to say to themselves, that the less
“ Oaths of Engagements were imposed, their Settle-
“ ment would be the sooner attained to: that He
“ knew, all the sober Gentry would close with them,
“ if they might be tenderly and gently used: that it
“ was their common Concernment to amplify, not
“ to lessen, their Interest, and to be careful that neither
“ the Cavalier nor the Fanatic Party should have
“ yet a share in the Civil, or Military Power.”

The rest of his Speech concerned *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. And all being spoken with more than his natural warmth, there were some Expressions in it which they disliked. But others gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in *Scotland*, and that they had been left to contend with the Malignity of their old Army; and they watched for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

The late confusions and interruptions of all public
receipts

receipts had wholly emptied their Coffers, out of which the Army, and all other expenses, were to be supplied. And though the Parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their Ordinances for all Collections and Payments, yet Money came in very slowly; and the People generally had so little reverence for their Legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to require the City presently to collect and bring in the Arrears of their Taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a considerable Sum of Money of them; which could not be easily done but by the advice, and with the consent of the Common-Council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly, and peaceably, without their distribution.

The Common-Council was constituted of such Persons as were weary of the Parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with any of their Commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to what was demanded, but, in the debate of it, excepted against the Authority, and, upon the matter, declared, "that they would never submit to any Imposition that was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament." And it was generally believed, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the General; and the Apprehension of this, made the Parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their Empire; they therefore

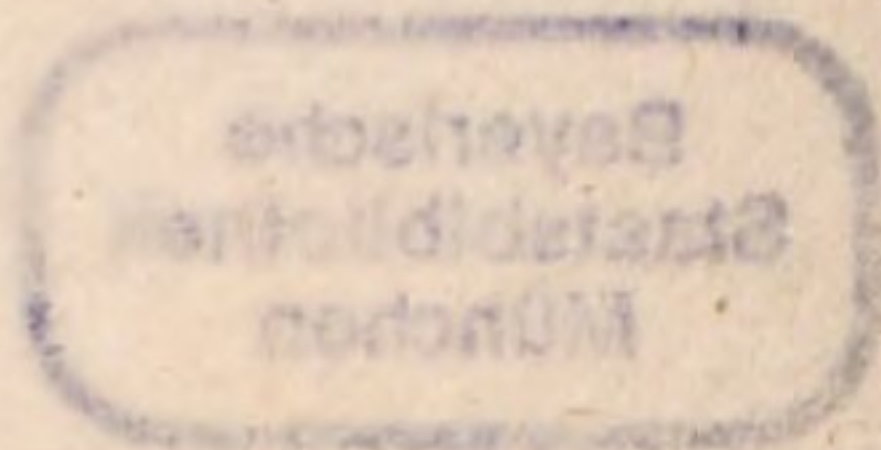
The Common Council of the City are refractory to the Parliament.

B O O R resolved upon this occasion to make a full Experiment
XVI. of their own power, and of their General's obedience.

The Parliament having received a full information from those Aldermen, and others, whose Interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had passed at the Common-Council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the Citizens, referred it to the consideration of the Council of State, what was fit to be done towards the Rebellious City, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Council of State deliberated upon the matter, and returned their Advice to the Parliament, "that some part of
 " the Army might be sent into the City, and re-
 " main there, to preserve the peace thereof, and of
 " the Common-wealth, and to reduce it to the obe-
 " dience of the Parliament. In Order thereunto, and
 " for their better humiliation, they thought it con-
 " venient that the Posts and Chains should be remo-
 " ved from, and out of the several Streets of the City;
 " and that the Portcullises, and Gates of the City,
 " should be taken down and broken." Over and above this, they named ten or eleven Persons, who had been the principal Conductors in the Common-Council, all Citizens of great reputation; and advised
 " that they should be apprehended and committed
 " to Prison, and that thereupon a new Common-
 " Council might be erected, that would be more at
 " their Devotion."

Monk sent
 into the City

This round advice was embraced by the Parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their General, and commanded him to march into the City with his



Army, and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their Service; and He as readily executed their Commands; led his Army into the Town on *Feb.* the 9th, neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them) caused as many, as he could, of those who were so proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and broke the Gates and Portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole City; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, he returned Himself to *White-Hall*, and his Army to their former Quarters. And by this last Act of compliance he frustrated the present hopes of those who had expected better from him, and confirmed his Masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant Injunctions. And many at that time feared, that if the Parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other Counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the way to their own preservation.

Whilst He was executing this their Tyranny upon the City, They were contriving how to lessen his Power and Authority, and resolved to join others with him in the Command of the Army; and, upon that very day, they received a Petition, which they

B O O K

XVI.

to reduce it
to obedience:Returns to
White-Hall.The Parlia-
ment resolve

B O O K

XVI.

to join others
in Commission
with him,
and receive
a Petition by
Barebone from
the Fanatics.

had fomented, presented to the Parliament by a Man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, *Praise-God Barebone*, in the head of a crowd of Sectaries. The Petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the Memory of the late King, and against the Person of the present King, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of the Kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter Extirpation of all which it pressed with great Acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new Parliament, at least of admitting those Members to sit in the present Parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "either of which," the Petitioners said, would prove the inevitable "destruction of all the Godly in the Land:" and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "that no Person whatsoever might be admitted to "the exercise of any Office or Function in the State, "or in the Church, no not so much as to teach a "School, who did not first take the Oath of Abjuration of the King, and of all his Family, and that he "would never submit to the Government of any One "single Person whatsoever; and that whosoever "should presume so much as to propose, or mention "the Restoration of the King in Parliament, or any "other place, should be adjudged guilty of, and "condemned for High-Treason."

This Petition was received with great approbation by the House, their Affection much applauded, and the thanks of the Parliament very solemnly returned by the Speaker: all which information the General received at *White-Hall*, when he returned out of the

Monk's
chief Officers

City; and was presently attended by his chief Officers; who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the Parliament, “their manifest ingratitude to him; and the indignity offered to him, in giving such countenance to a rabble of infamous Varlets, who desired to set the whole Kingdom in a flame, to comply with their Fanatic and mad Enthusiasms; and that the Parliament would never have admitted such an infamous Address with approbation, except they had first resolved upon His ruin and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he did not prevent it by his Wisdom, and Sagacity;” and thereupon told him of the under-hand Endeavours which were used to work upon the Affections of the Soldiers.

The General had been prepared, by the conferences of *Scot* and *Robinson* in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he came to the Parliament, he must take the Oath of Abjuration of the King and his Family. And therefore they had advised him “to offer the taking it himself, before it should be proposed to him, as a matter that would confirm all Men in an entire confidence in him.” When he came to the Parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and they thought he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being

B O O K

XVI.

discontented
at this neglect
of the Parlia-
ment of their
General.

B O O K now awakened by this Alarm from his Officers, and
XVI the temper they were in, and his flegm a little curdled,
 This awakens him. he begun to think himself in danger; and that this
 body of Men, that was called the Parliament, had
 not reputation enough to preserve themselves, and
 those who adhered to them. He had observed through-
 out the Kingdom, as he marched, how despicable
 they were in the estimation of all Men, who gave
 them no other term or appellation but the *Rump*, as
 the fag-end of a Carcase long since expired. All that
 night was spent in consultation with his Officers; nor
 did he then form any other design than so to unite
 his Army to him that they might not leave him in
 any resolution he should think fit to take.

He marches
 again into
 the City, and
 sends an
 expostulatory
 Letter to the
 Parliament.

In the morning, which was very soon after he had
 broken the Gates and the Hearts of the City, he called
 his Army again together, and marched with it into
London, taking up his own Quarters at an Alderman's
 House. At the same time he left *White-Hall*, he sent a
 Letter to the Parliament, in which he roundly took
 notice of "their unreasonable, unjust, and unpolitic
 " proceedings; of their abetting and countenancing
 " wicked, and unchristian Tenets in reference to
 " Religion, and such as would root out the practice
 " of any Religion; of their underhand corresponding
 " with those very Persons whom they had declared
 " to be Enemies, and who had been principally in-
 " strumental in all the affronts and indignities they
 " had undergone, in and after their dissolution."
 Thereupon he advised them in such Terms as they
 could not but understand for the most peremptory
 Command, "that, in such a time (a time prescribed

“ in his Letter) they would issue out Writs for a new
 “ Parliament, that so their own sitting might be
 “ determined; which was the only Expedient, that
 “ could return Peace and Happiness to the Kingdom,
 “ and which both the Army and Kingdom expected
 “ at their hands.” This Letter was no sooner deliver-
 ed to the House, than it was Printed, and carefully
 published, and dispersed throughout the City, to the
 end that they who had been so lately and so wofully
 disappointed, might see how thoroughly he was Em-
 barked, and so entertain no new Jealousies of him.

B O O K
 XVI.

His Letter to
 the Parlia-
 ment printed
 and dispersed.

After he had dined with the Lord-Mayor, and dis-
 posed his Army in such a manner and order as he
 thought fit, he desired Him, and the Aldermen, with
 the Common-Council, to meet him at the *Guild-Hall*;
 where, after many Excuses for the work of the other
 day, they plighted their Troth each to other in such
 a manner, for the perfect Union and adhering to each
 other for the future, that, as soon as they came from
 thence, the Lord-Mayor attended the General to his
 Lodgings, and all the Bells of the City proclaimed,
 and testified to the Town and Kingdom, that the
 Army and the City were of one mind. And as soon
 as the Evening came, there was a continued light of
 Bon-fires throughout the City and Suburbs, with
 such an universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never
 been known, and cannot be expressed, with such
 ridiculous signs of Scorn and Contempt of the Parlia-
 ment, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable
 detestation they had of it; there being scarce a Bon-
 fire at which they did not roast a Rump, and pieces of
 flesh made like one; “ which,” they said, “ was for

He meets the
 Lord-Mayor
 and Common
 Council, ex-
 cuses what
 was past, and
 promises to
 stand by them,
 and They by
 him. Great
 rejoicing in
 the City upon
 it.

B O O K
XVI.

“ the Celebration of the Funeral of the Parliament:” and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that Night exercised to defame the Parliament, and to magnify the General.

The Parlia-
ment sent
some Members
to treat
with him.
He engages
them in a
conference
with some
secluded
Members.

In such a huddle and mixture of loose People of all Conditions, and such a transport of Affections, it could not be otherwise but that some Men would drink the King's Health; which was taken no notice of; nor was it known that one Person of Condition did once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the Parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their General again to them; and, to that purpose, they sent a Committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his Ambition. The entertainment he gave this Committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another Committee of the excluded Members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a Parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, “that in justice the se-
“ cluded Members ought to be admitted before the
“ calling another Parliament, and the dissolution
“ of this.”

He returns to
White-Hall:

After He had put the City into the posture they desired; and found no danger threatened him from thence, he returned again to his Quarters in *White-Hall*, and disposed his Army to those Posts which he

judged most convenient. He then sent for the Mem-
 bers of the Parliament to come to him, and many
 others who had been Excluded, and lamented “ the
 “ sad Condition the Kingdom was in, which he prin-
 “ cipally imputed to the disunion, and divisions,
 “ which had arisen in Parliament among those who
 “ were faithful to the Common-wealth: that he had
 “ had many Conferences with them together, and
 “ was satisfied by those Gentlemen, who had been
 “ Excluded, of their Integrity; and therefore he had
 “ desired this Conference between them, that he
 “ might communicate his own thoughts to them; in
 “ doing whereof, that he might not be mistaken in his
 “ Delivery, or misapprehended in his Expressions, as
 “ he had lately been, he had put what he had a mind
 “ to say in writing;” which he Commanded his
 Secretary to read to them: and was as follows.

B O O K
 XVI.

Sends for
 Members of
 both Parties

He delivers
 his mind to
 them in a
 paper.

“ Gentlemen,

“ You are not, I hope, ignorant, what care and
 “ endeavours have been used, and means essayed, for
 “ healing the breaches of our divisions amongst our-
 “ selves; and that in order thereunto divers Confer-
 “ ences have been procured between you, though to
 “ small effect; yet having at length received fuller
 “ satisfaction, from those worthy Gentlemen that
 “ were secluded, than formerly; I was bold to put
 “ you all to the trouble of this meeting, that I might
 “ open myself to you all, even with more freedom
 “ than formerly: but lest I might be misapprehended
 “ or mistaken, as of late it befel me, I have committed
 “ to writing the Heads of what I intended to

B O O K “ discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly
xvi. “ to you all.”

“ Gentlemen,

“ It appears unto me, by what I have heard from
“ You and the whole Nation, that the Peace and
“ happy Settlement of these bleeding Nations, next
“ under God, lieth in Your hands. And when I con-
“ sider that Wisdom, Piety, and Self-denial, which I
“ have reason to be confident, lodgeth in you, and
“ how great a share of the Nations Sufferings will fall
“ upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a settle-
“ ment, I am in very good hopes, there will be found
“ in you all, such melting Bowels towards these poor
“ Nations, and towards one another, that you will
“ become Healers, and makers up, of all its woful
“ Breaches. And that such an opportunity may
“ clearly appear to be in Your hands, I thought
“ good to assure you, and that in the presence of God,
“ that I have nothing before my Eyes but God’s
“ Glory, and the Settlement of these Nations upon
“ Common-wealth-Foundations. In pursuit whereof
“ I shall think nothing too dear; and for my Own
“ particular, I shall throw myself down at Your Feet
“ to be any thing or nothing in order to these great
“ Ends. As to the way of future Settlement, far be it
“ from Me to impose any thing; I desire you may be
“ in perfect freedom; only give me leave to mind
“ You, that the Old Foundations are by God’s Pro-
“ vidence so, broken that, in the eye of reason, they
“ cannot be restored but upon the Ruins of the Peo-
“ ple of these Nations, that have engaged for their

“ Rights, in defence of the Parliament, and the great
“ and main ends of the Covenant, for uniting and
“ making the Lord's Name One in the Three Nations:
“ and also the Liberty of the People's Representatives
“ in Parliament will be certainly lost; for if the People
“ find, that after so long and bloody a War against
“ the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet
“ at last He must be taken in again, it will be out of
“ question, and is most manifest, He may for the
“ future govern by his Will, dispose of Parliaments
“ and Parliament-Men as He pleaseth, and yet the
“ People will never more rise for Assistance.”

“ And as to the Interest of this Famous City (which
“ hath been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parliaments,
“ and unto whom I am for their great Affection so
“ deeply engaged) certainly it must lie in a Common-
“ wealth; that Government only being capable to
“ make them, through the Lord's Blessing, the Me-
“ tropolis and Bank of the Trade for all *Christendom*;
“ whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them
“ above others.

“ And as to a Government in the Church, the
“ want whereof hath been no small Cause of these
“ Nations distractions, it is most manifest, that if it
“ be Monarchical in the State, the Church must fol-
“ low, and Prelacy must be brought in; which these
“ Nations, I know, cannot bear, and against which
“ they have so solemnly Sworn.

“ And indeed moderate, not rigid Presbyterian
“ Government, with a sufficient Liberty for Consci-
“ ences truly tender, appears at present to be the
“ most indifferent and acceptable way to the Church's
“ Settlement.

B O O K
XVI.

“ The main thing that seems to lie in the way, is
“ the Interest of the Lords, even of those Lords who
“ have showed themselves Noble indeed, by joining
“ with the People, and in defence of those just Rights
“ have adventured their dearest Blood and large Es-
“ tates. To that I shall only say, that though the state
“ of these Nations be such, as cannot bear their Sitting
“ in a distinct House ; yet, certainly, the Wisdom of
“ Parliament will find out such Hereditary Marks of
“ Honor for them, as may make them more Noble in
“ after-Ages.

“ Gentlemen,

“ Upon the whole matter, the best result that I can
“ make at present for the Peace of these Nations, will
“ be, in my opinion, that you forthwith go to sit to-
“ gether in Parliament, in order,

1. “ To the settling the Conduct of the Armies of
“ the Three Nations in that manner, as they may be
“ serviceable to the Peace and Safety of them, and
“ not to its own, and the Nations ruin, by Faction
“ and Division.

2. “ To the providing sufficient maintenance for
“ them ; that is, for the Forces by Land, and for the
“ Navy by the Sea, and all the Arrears of both, and
“ other contingencies of the Government.

3. “ To the appointing a Council of State with Au-
“ thority to settle the Civil Government and Judica-
“ tories in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to take care for
“ the issuing of Writs for the Summoning a Parlia-
“ ment of these Three Nations united, to meet at
“ *Westminster* the 20th day of *April* next, with such

“ Qualifications as may secure the Public Cause we
“ are all engaged in, and according to such distribu-
“ tions as were used in the year 1654. Which Parlia-
“ ment so called, may meet and act in freedom, for
“ the more full Establishing of this Common-wealth,
“ without a King, single Person, or House of Lords.

4. “ To a Legal Dissolution of this Parliament, to
“ make way for a Succession of Parliaments.

“ And in order to these good Ends, the Guards
“ will not only willingly admit you, but faithfully
“ both myself, and every the Officers under my
“ Command; and I believe the Officers and Soldiers
“ of the Three Nations will spend their Blood for
“ You and successive Parliaments.

“ If Your Conjunction be directed to this end, you
“ may part Honorably, having made a fair step to
“ the Settlement of these Nations, by making a way
“ for successive Parliaments.

“ But I must needs say, that if any different Counsel
“ should be taken (which I have no reason to fear)
“ these Nations would presently be thrown back in-
“ to Force and Violence, and all hopes of this much
“ desired Establishment buried in disorder; which
“ the Lord in his great Mercy I hope will prevent.
“ And so God speed you well together, and unite
“ your hearts for the preservation of Peace and Set-
“ tlement of these Nations, to His Glory, and Yours,
“ and all our Comforts.”

Divers who heard this, thought there was no dis-
simulation in it, in order to cover and conceal his
good intentions for the King: for, without doubt,

B O O K
XVI.

he had not to this hour seemed to them to have any purpose, or thought to serve him, but appeared to be really of the opinion he expressed in his Paper, that it was a work impossible. So that they thought he desired nothing, but that he might see a Common-wealth established in such a Model as *Holland* was, where he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the Prince of *Orange* possessed in that Government. He had not, from his marching out of *Scotland* to this time, had much public conversation with any Persons who had served the King; nor had he hitherto, or, for some time after, did he set one of the King's Friends at Liberty, though all the Prisons were full of them; but on the contrary, they were every day committed by the Rump-Parliament; and with them it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the King's Restoration.

The secluded
Members go
to the House:

Their trans-
actions there.

As soon as the Conference above mentioned was ended with the Members of the Parliament, They who had been excluded from the year 1648, repaired to the House on *Feb.* the 21st, and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolished all the Orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for Him who had so well provided for Them, by renewing and enlarging the General's Commission, and revoking all other Commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign Quarters to any part of the Forces.

They who had sat before, had put the whole Militia of the Kingdom into the hands of Sectaries,

Persons generally of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new Tenet in Religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the King's Party. All these Commissions were revoked, and the Militia put under the Government of the Nobility, and principal Gentry throughout the Kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no Person should be capable of being trusted in that Province, who did not first declare under his hand, "that he did confess, and acknowledge, that the War raised by the two Houses of Parliament against the late King, was just, and lawful, until such time as force and violence was used upon the Parliament in the year 1648."

In the last place, they raised an Assessment of one hundred thousand pounds by the Month, for the payment of the Army, and defraying the Public expenses for six Months, to which the whole Kingdom willingly submitted; and the City of *London*, upon the credit and security of that Act, advanced as much ready Money as they were desired; and having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for the future, they issued out Writs to call a Parliament, to meet upon the five-and-twentieth day of *April* next ensuing (being *April* 1660) and then, on the sixteenth, or seventeenth day of *March*, after they had appointed a Council of State, of which there were many sober and honest Gentlemen, who did not wish the King ill, they dissolved that present Parliament, against all the importunities used by the Sectaries (who in Multitudes flocked together, and made Addresses in the Name of their

B O O K
XVI.

They issue Writs for a New Parliament: and dissolve themselves, and appoint a New Council of State.

B O O K Party in the City of *London*, that they would not dissolve themselves) but to the unspeakable Joy of all the rest of the Kingdom; who, notwithstanding their very different affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the long Parliament.

XVI.

The King's
Affairs at
Brussels
during this
time.

When the King, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of General *Monk* to *London* with his Army might produce some alteration that might be useful to him, heard of his entire submission to the Parliament, and of his entering the City, and disarming it, the Commitment of the principal Citizens, and breaking their Gates and Portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his Eyes but a perpetual Exile, attended with all those discomforts, whereof he had too long Experience, and which, he must now expect, would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to wait upon that condition. A greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the small Court of the King; but God did not suffer him long to be wrapped up in that melancholic Cloud. As the General's second march into the City was within two or three days after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very Evening of that day which had brought the News of the first in the Morning, brought likewise an Account to his Majesty of the second, with all the circumstances of Bells, and Bon-fires, and burning of Rumps, and such other Additions, as might reasonably be true, and which a willing Relator would not omit.

The King
hears on the
same day of
both the
marches of
the General
into the City.

When

When it begun to be dark, the Lord Marquis of *Ormond* brought a young Man with him to the Chancellor's Lodging at *Brussels*; which was under the King's Bed-chamber, and to which his Majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the despatch of any Business. The Marquis said no more but "that that Man
" had formerly been an Officer under him, and he
" believed he was an honest Man; besides, that he
" brought a line or two of Credit from a Person they
" would both believe; but that his discourse was so
" strange and extravagant, that he knew not what to
" think of it; however, he would call the King to
" judge;" and so went out of the Room leaving the Man there, and immediately returned with the King.

The Man's name was *Baily*, who had lived most in *Ireland*, and had served there as a Foot-Officer under the Marquis. He looked as if he had drunk much, or slept little: his Relation was, "that in the Afternoon
" of such a day, he was with Sir *John Stephens* in
Lambeth-House, used then as a Prison for many of the
" King's Friends; where, whilst they were in conference together, News was brought into the
" House by several Persons, that the General was
" marched with his whole Army into the City (it
" being within two or three days after he had been
" there, and broke down their Gates, and pulled
" down their Posts) and that he had a conference
" with the Mayor and Aldermen; which was no
" sooner ended, but that all the City Bells rang out;
" and He heard the Bells very plain at *Lambeth*: and
" that he staid there so late, till they saw the Bon-

B O O K
XVI. “ fires burning and flaming in the City : upon which
“ Sir *John Stephens* had desired him, that he would
“ immediately cross the River, and go into *London*,
“ and inquire what the matter was; and if he found
“ any thing extraordinary in it, that he would take
“ Post, and make all possible haste to *Brussels*, that the
“ King might be informed of it; and so gave him a
“ short Note in Writing to the Marquis of *Ormond*,
“ that he might believe all that the Messenger would
“ inform him : that thereupon he went over the
“ River, walked through *Cheapside*, saw the Bon-
“ fires, and the King’s health drunk in several places,
“ heard all that the General had done, and brought a
“ Copy of the Letter which the General had sent to
“ the Parliament, at the time when he returned with
“ his Army into the City ; and then told many things,
“ which were,” he said, “ publicly spoken, concern-
“ ing sending for the King : that then he took Post
“ for *Dover*, and hired a Bark that brought him
“ to *Ostend*.”

The time was so short from the hour he left *London*; that the expedition of his Journey was incredible, nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time, upon the most important Affair, and for the greatest reward. It was evident by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some Repetitions, that the Man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep; yet his Relation could not be a mere fiction and imagination. Sir *John Stephens* was a Man well known to his Majesty, and the other two; and had been sent over lately by the King, with some advice to his Friends; and it was well known, that

he had been apprehended at his Landing, and was sent Prisoner to *Lambeth-House*. And though he had not mentioned in his Note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the Man's own Devotion to the King could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a Journey. Then the General's Letter to the Parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned; and upon the whole matter, the King thought he had Argument to raise his own Spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his Intelligence to his dispirited Family, and Servants; who, upon the News thereof, were revived proportionably to the despair they had swallowed; and, according to the temper of Men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their Sufferings over; and laid in a stock of such vast hopes, as would be very hard for any success to procure satisfaction for.

But the King, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected Alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such Revolution as would be sufficient to do his work; towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any Foreign power. The most that he could collect from the General's Letter, besides the suppressing the present Tyranny of the Rump-Parliament, was, that, possibly, at last the excluded Members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that Council. And even this Administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence to his Majesty. Several of those excluded Members had not been true

B O O K Members of Parliament, but elected, after the end of
XVI. the War, into Their places who had been expelled for adhering to the King; and so they had no title to sit there, but what the counterfeit Great-Seal had given them, without, and against the King's Authority. It was thought these Men, with others who had been Lawfully chosen, were willing, and desirous, that the Concessions made by the late King at the Isle of *Wight* might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the Name and Life of the King, near as much establish a Republican Government, as was settled after his Murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the House; without which that horrid Villany could never have been committed.

Now what could the King reasonably expect from these Men's re-admission into the Government, but that they would resume their old Conclusions, and press him to consent to his Father's Concessions? which his late Majesty yielded to with much less cheerfulness, than he walked to the Scaffold; though it was upon the promise of many powerful Men then in the Parliament, "that he should not be obliged to
"accomplish that Agreement." These Revolvings wrought upon his Majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther Account from *London* of the Revolutions there.

Indeed, when all his Majesty had heard before, was

confirmed by several Expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his Friends, who had recovered their Courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded Members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a New Parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the King recovered his hopes again; which were every day increased by the Addresses of many Men, who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his Majesty's Approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next Parliament. And from the time that the

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Many now
apply to the
King.

Parliament was dissolved, the Council of State behaved themselves very civilly towards his Majesty's Friends, and released many of them out of Prison: particularly *Annesley*, when President of the Council, was very well contented that the King should receive particular Information of His Devotion, and of his Resolution to do him Service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the Courage to receive a Letter from his Majesty, and returned a dutiful Answer to it: all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the King knew not what to think of the General's Paper, which he had delivered at his Conference with the Members; for which he could seem to have no temptation, but his violent Affection to a Commonwealth. Few or none of his Majesty's Friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the King had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the King, "of what

The Council
of State's kind
behaviour now
to the King's
Friends.

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“ importance it would be, that he gave them some
“ credit, or means of Access to the General, by which
“ they might receive his Order and Direction in such
“ things as occurred on the sudden, and that they
“ might be sure to do nothing that might cross any
“ purpose of His. ” To which the King returned no
other Answer, “ but that they should have patience,
“ and make no Attempt whatsoever; and that in
“ due time they should receive all Advertisements
“ necessary; ” it being not thought fit to disclaim
having intelligence with, or hopes of the General;
since it was very evident, that the received opinion,
that he did design to serve the King, or that he would
be at last obliged to do it, whether he designed to do
it or no, did really as much contribute to the Advance-
ment of his Majesty’s Service, as if he had dedicated
himself to it. And the Assurance, that the other Party
thought they had, that he had no such Intention,
hindered those obstructions, which very probably
might have lessened his credit with his own Army,
or united all the rest of the Forces against him.

There happened likewise at this time a business
that very much troubled the King, and might very
probably have destroyed all the hopes that began to
flatter him. Upon the Dissolution of the Parliament,
which put an end to all the Power and Authority of
those who had been the chief Instruments of all the
monstrous things which had been done, the highest
despair seized upon all who had been the late King’s
Judges; who were sure to find as hard measure from
the seclused Members, as they were to expect if the
King himself had been restored. And all they who

had afterwards concurred with them, and exercised the same power, who were called the *Rump*, believed their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new Parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the Rump-Members would again resume the Government, notwithstanding their Dissolution by the power of the seclused Members; who would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

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To this purpose, they employed their Agents amongst the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, who had been disgracefully removed from their Quarters in the *Strand*, and *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent to *London*, to make room for General *Monk's* Army; which was now looked upon as the sole Confiding part of the Army. And they inflamed these Men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the War, should, besides the loss of all the Arrears of Pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the Cavaliers, whom they had Conquered, and who, they supposed, were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same infusions into the Soldiers of General *Monk's* Army, who had all the same Title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, *Lambert* made his escape out of the Tower; his Party having in all places so many of their Combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the General

Lambert's
escape out of
the Tower.

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had as great a jealousy of this Man's escape, as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had Command of the place, were notoriously known neither to love *Lambert's* Person, nor to favor his Designs.

This escape of *Lambert* in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the General, and the Council of State, into a great Agony. They knew well what Poison had been scattered about the Army, and what impresson it had made in the Soldiers. *Lambert* was the most Popular Man, and had the greatest Influence upon them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the Army together to a Rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no Man being able to make a judgment what they would chuse to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed, till he had digested the Method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the Troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear (which had been very easy then for him to have done) he would have gone near to have shaken at least the Model the General had made.

But either through the fear of his security, and being betrayed into the hands of his Enemies (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience) or the presumption, that the Army would obey him upon his first Call; and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for Him; and so put it into his Enemies power to disappoint, and control all his designs. He staid not at all in *London*, as it was his Interest to have done, but hastened into the Country; and trusting a Gentleman in *Buckinghamshire*, whom he thought himself sure of, the General had quickly notice in what Quarter he was: yet, with great Expedition, *Lambert* drew four Troops of the Army to him, with which he had the Courage to appear near *Daventry* in *Northamptonshire*, a Country famous for disaffection to the King, and for adhering to the Parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the Army, before it should be known at *White-Hall* where he was, and that any Forces could be sent from thence against him: of which, he doubted not, from his many Friends, he should have seasonable Notice.

He draws
four Troops
of the Army
to him near
Daventry.

But the General, upon his first secret intimation of his being in *Buckinghamshire*, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of Colonel *Ingoldsby* (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon *Lambert*, for his malice to *Oliver* and *Richard*, and the affront he had himself received from him) to attend and watch

The General
sends *In-
goldsby* against
him with his
own Regi-
ment, and a

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Body of Foot
under Colonel
Streater.One of Lam-
bert's Troops
revolts to
Ingoldsby:and another
also.

all his Motions with his own Regiment of Horse ; which was the more faithful to him for having been before seduced by *Lambert* to desert him. *Ingoldsby*, being joined with a good Body of Foot under Colonel *Streater*, used so much diligence in waiting upon *Lambert's* Motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of *Lambert's* four Captains fell into the hands of his Forlorn hope ; who made him Prisoner, and brought him to their Colonel. The Captain was very well known to *Ingoldsby* ; who, after some conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promise, “ that he would himself retire to his House, and “ send his Troop to obey his Commands ; which promise he observed ; ” and the next day his Troop, under his Cornet and Quarter-Master, came to *Ingoldsby*, and informed him where *Lambert* was. He thereupon made haste, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was pursued by him.

Lambert, surprised with this discovery, and finding that one of his Troops had forsaken him, saw his Enemy much superior to him in Number ; and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together ; which the other was content to do. *Lambert* proposed to him, “ that they might restore *Richard* to be Protector ; ” and promised to unite all his Credit to the Support of that Interest. But *Ingoldsby* (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that Undertaking) had devoted himself to a better Interest ; and adhered to the General, because he presumed that He did intend to serve the King, and so rejected this Overture. Whereupon both Parties prepared to Fight, when another of *Lambert's* Troops forsaking

him, and putting, themselves under his Enemy, he concluded, that his Safety would depend upon his Flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his Horse. But *Ingoldſby* keeping his Eye ſtill upon him, and being as well Horſed, overtook him, and made him his Priſoner, after he had in vain uſed great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to eſcape. B O O K
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Lambert and
his Party
diſperſed.
He and others
taken.

With him were taken *Cobbet*, *Creed*, and ſome other Officers of the greateſt Intereſt with the Fanatic part of the Army, and who were moſt apprehended by the General, in a time when all the ways were full of Soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: ſo that, if they had not been cruſhed in that inſtant, they would, in very few days, have appeared very formidable. *Ingoldſby* returned to *London*, and brought his Priſoners to the Privy-Council; who committed *Lambert* again to the Tower with a ſtricter Charge, with ſome other of the Officers; and ſent the reſt to other Priſons. This very reaſonable Victory looked to all Men, as a happy Omen to the ſucceeding Parliament; which was to aſſemble ſoon after the Priſoners were brought before the Council; and would not have appeared with the ſame cheerfulness, if *Lambert* had remained ſtill in Arms, or, in truth, if he had been ſtill at liberty.

In this ſhort Interval between the return of the ſecluded Members, and the Convention of the new Parliament, many prudent Actions and Alterations (beſides what have been already mentioned) were begun by that Parliament, before it was diſſolved, and finiſhed afterwards by the Council of State; The Parlia-
ment's and
Council of
State's pru-
dent Actions.

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Before the
Assembling
of the new
Parliament
they release
Sir George
Booth, &c.

which were good Presages, that the future Councils would proceed with Moderation. They released Sir *George Booth* from his Imprisonment, that he might be Elected to sit in the ensuing Parliament, as he shortly after was; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the King's Party who had sheltered themselves in obscurity, appeared now abroad, and conversed without control; and Mr. *Mordaunt*, who was known to be entirely trusted by the King, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the Council, and some Officers of the Army, as *Ingoldby* and *Huntington*, &c. made, through Him, tender of their Services to the King.

They reform
the Navy by
making
Monk and
Mountague
Admirals.

But that which seemed of most importance, was the reformation they made in the Navy; which was full of Sectaries, and under the Government of those who of all Men were declared the most Republican. The present Fleet prepared for the Summer-Service, was under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Lawson*; an excellent Seaman, but then a notorious Anabaptist; who had filled the Fleet with Officers, and Mariners, of the same principles. And they well remembered, how he had lately besieged the City; and, by the power of his Fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin *the Committee of Safety*, and restore the Rump-Parliament to the exercise of their Jurisdiction; for which he stood high in Reputation with all that Party. The Parliament resolved, though they thought it not fit or safe to remove *Lawson*; yet so far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to Control Them, as he had done *the Com-*

mittee of Safety. In order to this they concluded, that they would call *Mountague*, who had lain privately in his own House, under a Cloud, and Jealousy of being inclined too much to the King, and make Him and the General (who was not to be left out in any thing) joint Admirals of the Fleet; whereby *Mountague* only would go to Sea, and have the Ships under his Command; by which he might take care for good Officers, and Seamen, for such other Ships as they meant to add to the Fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform the rest. *Mountague* sent privately over to the King for his Approbation, before he would accept the Charge; which being speedily sent to him, he came to *London*, and entered into that joint Command with the General; and immediately applied himself to put the Fleet into so good order, that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no Man who betook himself to his Majesty's Service with more generosity than this Gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correspondence which he held with the King.

Mountague was of a Noble Family, of which some were too much addicted to Innovations in Religion, and in the beginning of the Troubles, appeared against the King; though his Father, who had been long a Servant to the Crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his Allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only Son within those limits: but being young, and more out of his Father's Control by being Married into a Family, which, at that time, also trod away, he was so far wrought upon by the Cares of *Cromwell*, that, out of pure Affec-

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An account
of Admiral
Mountague.

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tion to him, he was persuaded to take Command in the Army, when it was new Modelled under *Fairfax*, and when he was little more than twenty years of Age. He served in that Army in the Condition of a Colonel to the end of the War, with the Reputation of a very stout and sober young Man. And from that time *Cromwell*, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest Confidence, and sent him, first, joined in Commission with *Blake*; and then, in the sole Command by Sea; in which he was discreet and successful. And though Men looked upon him as devoted to *Cromwell's* Interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all Men, and without the least show of Acrimony towards any who had served the King; and was so much in love with Monarchy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised *Cromwell* to accept, and assume that Title, when it was offered to him by his Parliament. He was designed by him to Command the Fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the *Sound* between the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but was, in truth, to hinder the *Dutch* from assisting the *Dane* against the *Swede*; with whom *Oliver* was engaged in an inseparable Alliance. He was upon this Expedition, when *Richard* was scornfully thrown out of the Protectorship; and was afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that Command) with *Algernoon Sidney*, and the other Plenipotentiaries which the Rump-Parliament sent to reconcile those Crowns. As soon as *Richard* was so cast down, the King thought *Mountague's* relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his Service.

There accompanied him at that time *Edward Mountague*, the eldest Son of the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, and his near Kinsman; with whom he had a particular Friendship. This Gentleman was not unknown to the King, and very well known to the Chancellor, to have good Affections and Resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant Voyage, only to dispose his Cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to Serve his Majesty. At this time *Sir George Booth* appeared, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole Kingdom against that odious part of the Parliament which was then possessed of the Government. And it was now thought a very reasonable Conjunction to make an experiment, whether *Mountague* with his Fleet would declare for the King.

The Chancellor thereupon prepared such a Letter in his own Name, as his Majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those Motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He informed him of
“ *Sir George Booth’s* being possessed of *Chester*, and in
“ the head of an Army; and that his Majesty was
“ assured of many other Places; and of a general
“ Combination between Persons of the greatest Interest, to declare for the King; and that, if he would
“ bring his Fleet upon the Coast, his Majesty, or the
“ Duke of *York*, would immediately be on Board
“ with him.” This Letter was inclosed in another to *Edward Mountague*, to be by him delivered, or Not

B O O K delivered, as he thought fit; and committed to the
XVI. care of an Express, who was then thought not to be without some Credit with the Admiral himself; which did not prove true. However, the Messenger was diligent in prosecuting his Voyage, and arrived safely at *Copenhagen* (where the Fleet lay; and where all the Plenipotentiaries from the Parliament then were) and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his Letter to the Person to whom it was directed; who, the same Night, delivered the other to his Cousin. He received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden Revolutions in *England*.

They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the Messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the Fleet, where though he had had good Command, he had no Credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of Good-fellowship, that the Admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any Letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the Admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his Errand. But *Edward Mountague* writ such a Letter to the Chancellor, as was evidence enough that his Majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any Service that the Admiral could perform for him. With this Answer the Messenger returned to *Brussels*, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

Within few days after this Messenger's withdrawing from *Copenhagen*, of whose being there the Plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolved to
require

require of the King of *Denmark*, that he might be committed to Prison, Admiral *Mountague* declared, “ that he should not be able to stay longer there for the want of Victual; of which he had not more than would serve to carry him home; and therefore desired, that they would press both Kings, and the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, to finish the Negotiation.” By this time the News of the Commotions in *England* made a great noise, and were reported, according to the Affections of the Persons who sent Letters thither, more to the King’s advantage than there was reason for; and the other Plenipotentiaries came to know, that the Man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with *Edward Mountague*; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the Admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to that Negotiation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed, when they saw him with his Fleet under Sail, making his course for *England*, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret Authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his Inclination) to have secured his Person on Board his own Ship, and to have disposed of the Government of the Fleet; of which being thus prevented they could do no more than send Expresses over Land, to acquaint the Parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the Fleet arrived near the Coast of *England*,

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they found Sir *George Booth* defeated, and all Persons who pretended any affection for the King, so totally crushed, and the Rump-Parliament in so full exercise of it's Tyrannical power, that the Admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return "by his scarcity" of Victual, which must have failed, if he had staid "till the Winter had shut him up in the *Sound*;" and his return was resolved upon the joint Advice of the Flag-Officers of the Fleet; there being not a Man but his Cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, as soon as he had presented himself to the Parliament, and laid down his Command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their Commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of *Lambert*; so that *Mountague* went quietly into the Country, and remained neglected and forgotten, till those Revolutions were over which were produced by *Lambert's* Invasion upon the Parliament, and General *Monk's* march into *England*, and till near the time that the Name and Title of that Parliament was totally abolished, and extinguished; and then the secluded Members being restored, called him to resume the Command of the Fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good Symptoms in the State, raised his Majesty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his Majesty, of the General, who only could put an end to

all his doubts, there was *altum silentium*; no Persons trusted by his Majesty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

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The General was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy Burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with Persons of every Interest, the King's Party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found, in his every day's discourses in the City, with those who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other Persons of Quality and Consideration, that the People did generally wish for the King, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled Peace in the Nation, that did not comprehend His Interest, and compose the prejudice that was against His Party. But then there must be strict Conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his Majesty's Power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne Arms against him, but such who had purchased the Lands of the Crown, or of Bishops, or of Delinquents; and no body spoke more favorably, than for the confirming all that had been offered by his Father in the Isle of Wight.

The General's
Counsels at
this time.

Whether by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland-House in a Conference with that Earl, the Earl of Manchester, and other Lords, and likewise with Hollis, Sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent Persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked

He had a
conference
with divers at
Northumber-
land-House.

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upon as the Heads and Governors of the moderate Presbyterian Party ; who, most of them, would have been contented, their own security being provided for, that the King should be restored to his full Rights, and the Church to it's Possessions. In this Conference, the King's Restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Satisfaction of the People ; and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit Him : some proposing more moderate, others more severe Conditions. In this whole Debate, the General insisted upon the most rigid Propositions ; which he pressed in such a manner, that the Lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from Restoring the King, that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice ; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the Parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the General, though he consulted with those of every Faction with much freedom, yet was by many then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely with Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, who was irreconcilable to Monarchy, and looked upon as the Chief of that Republican Party, which desired not to preserve any face of Government in the Church, or Uniformity in the public Exercise of Religion. This made the Lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their discourses with the General, and jealous of his Inclinations.

He consults
with Mr.
Morrice.

There was, at this time, in much conservation, and trust with the General, a Gentleman of *Devonshire*, of a fair Estate and Reputation, one Mr. *William Morrice*,

a Person of a retired Life, which he spent in Study, being Learned and of good Parts; and he had been always looked upon as a Man far from any Malice towards the King, if he had not good Affections for Him; which they who knew him best, believed him to have in a good measure. This Gentleman was allied to the General, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his Estate in that Country, where, by the death of his elder Brother without Heirs Male, he inherited a fair Fortune. And *Morrice*, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing Parliament, had made haste to *London*, the better to observe how things were like to go. With Him the General consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations; how “ he found most Men of Quality and interest inclined “ to call in the King, but upon such Conditions as “ must be very ungrateful, if possible to be received;” and the *London*-Ministers talked already so loudly of them, that the Covenant being new Printed, and, by Order fixed up in all Churches, they, in their Sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the People should return to their Allegiance.

That which wrought most upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all Counties for Members to serve in Parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular Affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the Murder of his Father, and detest the Government that succeeded: so that it was reasonably ap-

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prehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrained or controled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to Him to merit of the King; from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

Mr. *Morrice* was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the Affections of the West, "where the King's Restoration was," he said, "so impatiently longed for, that they had made
" choice of few or no Members to serve for *Cornwal*,
" or *Devonshire*, but such, who, they were confident,
" would contribute all they could to invite the King
" to return. And when that Subject was once upon
" the Stage, They who concurred with most frank-
" nefs, would find most credit; and They who oppo-
" sed it, would be overborne with lasting reproach." When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance that design; and so consulted with his Friend how he might manage it in that manner, before the Parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his Counsels, and Contrivance.

There was then in the Town a Gentleman well known to be a Servant of eminent Trust to the King, Sir *John Greenvil*, who, from the time of the Surrender of *Scilly*, had enjoyed his Estate, and sometimes his Liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected Person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending to the General into *Scotland* the Clergy-man, his Brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his Majesty, and at this time

were taken notice of to have all Intimacy with Mr. *Mordaunt*; who most immediately corresponded with *Brussels*. This Gentleman was of a Family to which the General was allied; and he had been obliged to his Father, Sir *Bevil Greenvil*; who lost his Life at the Battle of *Lansdown* for the King, and by his Will had recommended his much impaired Fortune, and his Wife and Children, to the care and counsel of his Neighbour and Friend, Mr. *Morrice*; who had executed the Trust with the utmost Fidelity and Friendship.

The General was content, that Sir *John Greenvil* should be trusted in this great Affair, and that Mr. *Morrice* should bring him secretly to him in a private Lodging he had in *St. James'*. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his Life; he told him, "he meant to send him to the King; with whom, he presumed, he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony; for he was resolved not to write to the King, nor to give him any thing in writing; but wished him to confer with Mr. *Morrice*, and to take short Memorials in his own hand of those particulars he should offer to him in discourse; which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an hour he should appoint." And so he retired hastily out of the Room, as if he were jealous that other Men would wonder at his absence.

Sir John
Greenvil in-
troduced to
the General by
Mr. *Morrice*.

That which Mr. *Morrice* Communicated to *Greenvil*, was, after he had enlarged upon "the perplexity the General was in, by the several humors and factions which prevailed, and that he durst not trust

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“ any Officer of his own Army, or any Friend but
“ himself, with his own secret purposes;” he advised,
“ that the King should write a Letter to the General;
“ in which, after kind and gracious Expressions, he
“ should desire him to deliver the inclosed Letter,
“ and Declaration to the Parliament;” the particular
heads, and materials for which Letter, and Declara-
tion, *Morrice* discoursed to him; the end of which was
to satisfy all Interests, and to comply with every
Man’s humor, and indeed to suffer every Man to
enjoy what he would.

After Sir *John Greenvil* had enough discoursed all
particulars with him, and taken such short Memorials
for his Memory as he thought necessary, within a day
or two he was brought with the same wariness, and in
another place, to the General; to whom he read the
short Notes he had taken; to which little was added:

The Transac-
tions between
the General,
Morrice, and
Greenvil.

and the General said, “ that if the King writ to that
“ purpose, when he brought the Letter to him, he
“ would keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time
“ to deliver it, or should think of another way to
“ serve his Majesty.” Only he added another par-
ticular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the King
to consent to, which was, his Majesty’s present re-
move out of *Flanders*. He undertook to know, that
the *Spaniard* had no purpose to do any thing for him,
and that all his Friends were jealous, that it would
not be in his power to remove from thence, if he
deferred it till they discovered that he was like to
have no need of them. And therefore he desired,
“ that his Majesty would make haste to *Breda*, and
“ that, for the public satisfaction, and that it might
“ be evident he had left *Flanders*, whatsoever he

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“ should send in writing should bear date as from *Breda* ;” and he enjoined Sir *John Greenvil* “ not to return, till he had himself seen the King out of the *Dominions of Flanders*.” Thus instructed he left him, who taking Mr. *Mordaunt* with him for the Companion of his Journey, set out for *Flanders* about the beginning of *April* 1660, and in few days arrived safely at *Brussels*.

Thus instructed, Sir J. Greenvil goes over to Brussels with Mr. Mordaunt.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the King, nor of small advantage to him, that the *Spaniard* looked upon all these Revolutions in *England* as the effects of the several animosities, and emulations of the different Factions among themselves ; a Contention only between the Presbyterian Republicans on one side, and the Independent and Levelling Party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the Government of the State, without the least reference to the King's Interest : which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore *Don Alonzo*, by his *Irish* Agents (who made him believe any thing) continued firm to the Levellers, who, if they got the better of their Enemies, he was assured, would make a good Peace with *Spain* ; which above all things they desired : and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the King, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such Agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to *Brussels* ; and when Instruments, of most credit and importance, would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some

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Person, who was intrusted by him, into *Zeeland* to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of Negotiation, which was very expensive, they cared not what Money they disbursed, whilst they neglected the King, and suffered him to be without that small supply which they had assigned to him.

In this temper were the *Spanish* Ministers, when Mr. *Mordaunt* and Sir *John Greenvil* came to *Brussels*. And *Don Alonzo* had so fully possessed the Court at *Madrid* with the same Spirit, that when the Chancellor, in his Letters to Sir *Harry Bennet*, his Majesty's Resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a Revolution in *England* to the advantage of the King, he answered plainly, "that he durst not communicate
" any of those Letters to the Ministers there; who
" would laugh at him for abusing them, since they
" looked upon all those hopes of the King as imagi-
" nary, and without foundation of Sense, and upon
" his condition as most deplorable and absolutely
" desperate."

Sir John
Greenvil gives
the King an
account of his
Negotiation
with the
General.

When Sir *John Greenvil* had at large informed his Majesty of the Affairs of *England*, of the manner of the General's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr *Morrice*, and had Communicated the Instructions and Advices he had received, as his Majesty was very glad that the General had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their posses-

The King's
deliberations
upon the

sion in all the Lands which they held in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, by purchase or donation, whether of Lands belonging to the Crown and Church, or such who for adhering to his Father and himself, were declared Delinquents, and had their Lands confiscated and disposed of as their Enemies had thought fit. Then, the complying with all humors in Religion, and the granting a general liberty of Conscience, was a violation of all the Laws in force, and could not be apprehended to consist with the Peace of the Kingdom. No Man was more disposed to a general Act of Indemnity and Oblivion than his Majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his Honor, nor his Conscience, that those who had sat as Judges, and condemned his Father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that Act of Pardon: yet it was advised, “that there might be
 “no Exception; or that above Four might not be
 “excepted;” because, it was alledged, “that some
 “of them had facilitated the General’s march by
 “falling from *Lambert*, and others had barefaced
 “advanced the King’s Service very much.”

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the General’s advice in all things which his Conscience and Honor would permit, his Majesty directed such Letters and Declarations to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suitable to the Wishes and Counsel of the General, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the Parliament, rather than of his Majesty’s approba-

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terms pro-
 posed by the
 General.

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tion. And the confidence he had upon the general Election of honest and prudent Men, and in some particular Persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the Parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that whatever title They assumed, or He gave them, they must have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which They could not be safe, and contented, nor his Majesty obliged.

The Advice for his Majesty's remove out of *Flanders* presently, was not ungrateful; for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to *Holland*; where he had been as unkindly used as it was possible for any Gentleman to be. But besides the Authority which the General's advice deserved to have, the truth is, his Majesty could remove no whither else. *France* was equally excepted against, and equally disagreeable to the King; and the way thither must be through all the *Spanish* Dominions: *Dunkirk* was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the *English*, from whence he might Embark for *England* upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in *England*, after the Peace between the two Crowns, the King had sent to *Lockhart*, the Governor, and General of the *English* there, by a Person of Honor, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his Service by the prospect he had of the Revolutions like to ensue (which probably could not

but be advantageous to the King) and by the uncertainty of *Lockhart's* own condition upon any such Alterations. The Arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the King, and to receive his Majesty into that Garrison; which might be facilitated by his Majesty's Troops, if he did not think his own Soldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the Trust he had received, and the indecency of breaking it;" though, he confessed, "there was such a jealousy of him in the Council of State; for his relation and alliance to *Cromwell*, that he expected every day to be removed from that Command; as shortly after he was." Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his Nature (for he was a Man of parts, and of honor) or from his Jealousy of the Garrison, that they would not be disposed by him (for though he was exceedingly beloved, and obeyed by them, yet they were all *English-men*, and he had none of his own Nation, which was the *Scottish*, but in his own Family) certain it is, that, at the same time he refused to treat with the King, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the Cardinal; who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him Marechal of *France*, with great appointments of Pensions and other Emoluments, if he would deliver *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* into the hands of *France*; all which Overtures he rejected: so that his Majesty had no place to resort to preferable to *Breda*.

The King, was resolved rather to make no mention of the Murderers of his Father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was proposed: but chose

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rather to refer the whole consideration of that Affair, without any restriction, to the Conscience of the Parliament; yet with such expressions, and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do Themselves and the Nation right, in declaring their detestation of, and preparing vengeance for, that Parricide. And from the time that the secluded Members sat again with the Rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious Murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the King to depend upon their Virtue and Justice.

When the Summons were sent out to call the Parliament, there was no mention or thought of a House of Peers; nor had the General intimated any such thing to Sir *John Greenvil*; nor did Sir *John* himself, or Mr. *Mordaunt*, conceive that any of the Lords had a purpose to meet at first, but that all must depend upon the Commons. However, the King thought not fit to pass Them by, but to have a Letter prepared as well for Them as for the House of Commons; and likewise another to the Fleet; and another to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*; who, by adhering to the General, were like to add very much to his Authority.

The Letters prepared to the Parliament, &c. which the General advised. The King declares to the Marquis of Carracena "that he intended to go for some

When all those things were prepared, and perused, and approved by the King, which he resolved to send by Sir *John Greenvil* to the General (*Greenvil's* and *Mordaunt's* being in *Brussels* being unknown; They, attending his Majesty only in the Night at the Chancellor's Lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice of by any) his Majesty visited the Mar-

quis of *Carracena*, and told him, "that he intended
 " the next day to go to *Antwerp*, and from thence to
 " *Breda*, to spend two or three days with his Sister
 " the Princess of *Orange*; to whom the Dukes of *York*
 and *Glocester* were already gone, to acquaint her with
 the King's purpose; and his Majesty likewise, in
 confidence, informed him, " that there were some
 " Persons come from *England*, who would not ven-
 " ture to come to *Brussels*, from whom he expected
 " some Propositions and Informations, which might
 " prove beneficial to him; which obliged him to
 " make that Journey to confer with them."

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" days to
 " Breda, to
 " meet his
 " Sister.

The Marquis seemed to think That of little Mo-
 ment; and said, " that *Don Alonzo* expected every day
 " to receive assurance, that the Levellers would unite
 " themselves to the King's Interest, upon more
 " moderate Conditions than they had hitherto
 " made;" but desired his Majesty, " that the Duke of
 " *York* might hasten his Journey into *Spain*, to receive
 " the Command that was there reserved for him;"
 and the King desired him, " that the Forces he had
 " promised for his Service, might be ready against his
 " return to be Embarked upon the first appearance of
 " a hopeful occasion." So they parted; and his Ma-
 jesty went the next day to *Antwerp*, with that small
 retinue he used to Travel with.

His departure was some hours earlier than the Mar-
 quis imagined; and the reason of it was this. In that
 Night, one Mr. *William Galloway*, an *Irish* young
 Man, Page at that time to *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*,
 came to the Lord Chancellor's Lodgings, and finding
 his Secretary in his own Room, told him, " he must

The Spani-
 ards design,
 to seize his
 Majesty,
 discovered.

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“ needs speak presently with his Lord ; for he had
“ something to impart to him that concerned the
“ King’s life.” The Chancellor, though at that time
in Bed, ordered him to be admitted ; and the poor
Man trembling told him, “ that his Lord *Don Alonzo*
“ and the Marquis of *Carracena* had been long toge-
“ ther that evening ; and, that himself had overheard
“ them saying something of sending a Guard to attend
“ the King : that, about an hour after, they parted ;
“ and the Marquis sent a paper to *Don Alonzo* ; who,
“ when he went to Bed, laid it on his Table : that
“ himself, who lay in his Master’s AntiChamber,
“ looked into the Paper, when his Master was in Bed ;
“ and, seeing what it was, had brought it the Chan-
“ cellor :” It imported an Order to an Officer to
attend the King with a Party of Horse, for a Guard
wherever he went (a respect that never had been paid
him before) but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go
out of the Town. As soon as the Chancellor had read
the Order, he sent his Secretary with it to the King ;
who was in Bed likewise ; and his Majesty having
read it, the Secretary returned it to *Galloway* ; who
went home, and laid it in its place upon his Master’s
Table. The King commanded the Chancellor’s Secre-
tary to call up his Majesty’s Querry, Sir *William*
Armorer ; and to Him his Majesty gave his Orders,
charging him with secrecy, “ that he would be gone
“ at three of the Clock that Morning :” and accor-
dingly he went, attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*,
Sir *William Amorer*, and two or three Servants more.
Between eight and nine that Morning, an Officer did
come and inquire for the King ; but it happened, by
this

this seasonable discovery, that his Majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small Mortification, no doubt, of the *Spanish* Governor.

As soon as his Majesty came into the States Dominions, which was about the midway between *Antwerp* and *Breda*, he delivered to Sir *John Greenvil* { who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the General, "that he had seen his Majesty out of *Flanders*) all those despatches," which were prepared, and dated, as from *Breda*, upon the same day in which he received them, and where his Majesty was to be that Night. The Copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the General, upon perusal thereof, might, without opening the Originals, chuse whether he would deliver them, if any thing was contained therein which he disliked; and his Majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former Advice.

The King goes towards Breda, and delivers to Sir John Greenvil the Letter prepared.

Sir *John Greenvil*, before his Departure, told the King, "that though he had no order to propose it directly to his Majesty; yet he could assure him, it would be the most grateful and obliging thing his Majesty could do towards the General, if he would give him leave to assure him, that, as soon as he came into *England*, he would bestow the Office of one of the Secretaries of State upon Mr. *Morrice*; who was as well qualified for it, as any Man who had not been versed in the knowledge of Foreign Affairs." One of those places was then void by the Earl of *Bristol's* becoming Roman-Catholic, and thereupon resigning the Signet; and his Majesty was

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Sir John
Greenvil and
Mr. Mordaunt
return to-
wards Eng-
land.

very glad to lay that obligation upon the General, and to gratify a Person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good Affection to his Majesty, and directed him to give that Assurance to the General. With these despatches Sir *John Greenvil*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*, who privately expected his return at *Antwerp*, made what haste they could towards *England*: and the King went that Night to *Breda*. The Letters which the King writ to the General, and to the House of Commons, and the other Letters, with the Declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monk, to be by him communicated to the President, and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.

Charles R.

The Letter
of the King to
the General
and the Army.

“ Trusty, and Well beloved, We greet you well:
“ It cannot be believed, but that We have been, are,
“ and ever must be, as solicitous as We can, by all
“ endeavours to improve the Affections of Our good
“ Subjects at home, and to procure the Assistance of
“ Our Friends and Allies abroad, for the Recovery
“ of that Right, which, by the Laws of God and
“ Man, is unquestionable; and of which We have
“ been so long dispossessed by such force, and with
“ those circumstances, as We do not desire to aggra-
“ vate by any sharp Expressions; but rather wish, that
“ the memory of what is past, may be buried to the
“ World. That We have more endeavoured to

“ prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our
“ Subjects at home for Our Restoration, than to pro-
“ cure Assistance from abroad to Invade either of
“ Our Kingdoms, is as manifest to the World. And
“ We cannot give a better evidence that We are still
“ of the same mind, than in This Conjunction; when
“ common reason must satisfy all Men, that We can-
“ not be without Assistance from abroad, We chuse
“ rather to send to you, who have it in your power
“ to prevent that ruin and desolation which a War
“ would bring upon the Nation, and to make the
“ whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happiness, Secu-
“ rity, and Glory it shall enjoy, to your Virtue; and
“ to acknowledge that your Armies have complied
“ with their obligations, for which they were first
“ raised, for the preservation of the Protestant Reli-
“ gion, the Honor and Dignity of the King, the Pri-
“ vileges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of
“ the Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land;
“ and that You have vindicated that Trust, which
“ others most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How
“ much We desire, and resolve to contribute to those
“ good Ends, will appear to You by Our inclosed
“ Declaration; which We desire you to cause to be
“ published for the Information and Satisfaction of all
“ good Subjects, who do not desire a farther effusion
“ of precious Christian Blood, but to have their
“ Peace and Security founded upon that which can
“ only support it, an Unity of Affections amongst
“ Ourselves, an equal Administration of Justice to
“ Men, restoring Parliaments to a full capacity of

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“ providing for all that is amiss, and the Laws of the
“ Land to their due Veneration. ”

“ You have been yourselves Witnesses of so many
“ Revolutions, and have had so much experience,
“ how far any Power and Authority that is only
“ assumed by passion and appetite, and not supported
“ by Justice, is from providing for the Happiness and
“ Peace of the People, or from receiving any Obe-
“ dience from them (without which no Govern-
“ ment can provide for them) that you may very
“ reasonably believe, that God hath not been so well
“ pleased with the Attempts that have been made,
“ since he hath usually increased the Confusion, by
“ giving all the Success that hath been desired, and
“ brought that to pass without effect, which the De-
“ signers have proposed as the best means to settle
“ and compose the Nation: and therefore We cannot
“ but hope and believe, that you will concur with
“ Us in the Remedy We have applied; which, to
“ human Understanding, is only proper for the ills
“ We all groan under; and that you will make your-
“ selves the blessed Instruments to bring this blessing
“ of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and Peo-
“ ple, it being the usual method in which Divine
“ Providence delighteth itself, to use and sanctify
“ those very means, which ill Men design for the
“ satisfaction of private and particular Ends and
“ Ambition, and other wicked purposes, to whole-
“ some and public Ends, and to establish that Good
“ which is most contrary to the Designers; which is
“ the greatest manifestation of God’s peculiar kind-
“ ness to a Nation that can be given in this World.

“ How far We resolve to preserve your Interests,
 “ and reward your Services, We refer to Our Decla-
 “ ration; and We hope God will inspire you to per-
 “ form your Duty to Us, and to your Native Coun-
 “ try; whose Happiness cannot be separated from
 “ each other.”

“ We have intrusted Our Well-beloved Servant
 “ Sir *John Greenvil*, one of the Gentlemen of Our
 “ Bed.Chamber, to deliver this unto You, and to
 “ give Us an account of your reception of it, and to
 “ desire You, in Our Name, that it may be published.
 “ And so We bid you farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14th of April
 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty, and Well-beloved, the Speaker of
 the House of Commons.*

Charles R.

“ Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well : The Letter
 “ In these great and insupportable Afflictions and to the House
 “ Calamities, under which the poor Nation hath of Commons.
 “ been so long exercised, and by which it is so near
 “ exhausted, We cannot think of a more natural and
 “ proper Remedy, than to resort to those for Coun-
 “ sel and Advice, who have seen and observed the
 “ first beginning of Our Miseries, the progress from
 “ bad to worse and the mistakes and misunderstand-
 “ ings, which have been produced, and contri-
 “ buted to inconveniencies which were not intended;
 “ and after so many Revolutions, and the observa-
 “ tion of what hath attended them, are now trusted

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“ by Our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which
“ are made, and to provide proper Remedies for
“ those Evils, and for the lasting Peace, Happiness,
“ and Security of the Kingdom.

“ We do assure You upon Our Royal word, that
“ none of Our Predecessors have had a greater esteem
“ of Parliaments, than We have in Our judgment,
“ as well as from Our obligation; We do believe
“ them to be so vital a part of the Constitution of the
“ Kingdom, and so necessary for the Government
“ of it, that We well know neither Prince nor Peo-
“ ple can be in any tolerable degree happy without
“ them; and therefore you may be confident, that
“ We shall always look upon their Counsels, as the
“ best We can receive; and shall be as tender of their
“ Privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect
“ them, as of that which is most near to Our-Self,
“ and most necessary for Our own preservation.

“ And as this is Our opinion of Parliaments, that
“ their Authority is most necessary for the Govern-
“ ment of the Kingdom; so We are most confident,
“ that you believe, and find, that the preservation
“ of the King's Authority is as necessary for the pre-
“ servation of Parliaments; and that it is not the
“ Name, but the right Constitution of them, which
“ can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those
“ Evils which are grievous to the People, and which
“ can thereby establish their Peace and Security. And
“ therefore We have not the least doubt, but that
“ you will be as tender in, and as jealous of, any thing
“ that may infringe Our Honor, or impair Our Au-
“ thority, as of your own Liberty and Property;
“ which is best preserved by preserving the other.

“ How far We have trusted you in this great Affair,
“ and how much it is in your Power to restore the
“ Nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from
“ any infamy it hath undergone, and to make the
“ King and People as happy as they ought to be;
“ you will find by Our inclosed Declaration; a Copy
“ of which We have likewise sent to the House of
“ Peers : and you will easily believe, that We would
“ not voluntarily, and of Ourselves, have reposed so
“ great a Trust in you, but upon an entire Confi-
“ dence that you will not abuse it, and that you will
“ proceed in such a manner, and with such due con-
“ sideration of Us who have trusted You, that We
“ shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance
“ (which We have assurance of) and repairing to
“ You for more natural and proper Remedies for
“ the Evils We could be freed from; nor sorry, that
“ We have bound up Our own Interests so entirely
“ with that of Our Subjects, as that We refer it to
“ the same Persons to take care of Us, who are trust-
“ ed to provide for them. We look upon You as
“ wise and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots,
“ who will raise up those Banks and Fences which
“ have been cast down, and who will most reasona-
“ bly hope, that the same prosperity will again spring
“ from those Roots, from which it hath heretofore
“ and always grown; nor can We apprehend that
“ you will propose any thing to Us, or expect any
“ thing from Us, but what We are as ready to give,
“ as You to receive.

“ If You desire the Advancement and Propaga-
“ tion of the Protestant Religion, We have, by Our

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“ constant profession, and practice of it, given suffi-
“ cient Testimony to the World, that neither the
“ unkindness of those of the same Faith towards Us,
“ nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of
“ a contrary profession (of both which We have had
“ an abundant Evidence) could in the least degree
“ startle Us, or make Us swerve from it; and nothing
“ can be proposed to manifest Our Zeal and Affec-
“ tion for it, to which We will not readily consent.
“ And We hope, in due time, Ourselves to propose
“ somewhat to You for the propagation of it, that
“ will satisfy the World, that We have always made
“ it both Our care and Our study, and have enough
“ observed what is most like to bring disadvantage
“ to it.

“ If You desire security for those who, in these cala-
“ mitous times, either wilfully or weakly have trans-
“ gressed those bounds which were prescribed, and
“ have invaded each other's Rights, We have left to
“ you to provide for their Security and Indemnity,
“ and in such a way, as you shall think just and rea-
“ sonable; and by a just computation of what Men
“ have done, and suffered, as near as is possible, to
“ take care that all Men be satisfied; which is the
“ surest way to suppress, and extirpate all such uncha-
“ ritableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake
“ and threaten that Peace, which for the present
“ might seem established. If there be a crying Sin,
“ for which the Nation may be involved in the in-
“ famy that attends it, We cannot doubt but that
“ you will be as solicitous to redeem it, and vindi-
“ cate the Nation from that Guilt and Infamy, as
“ We can be.

“ If You desire that Reverence and Obedience
“ may be paid to the fundamental Laws of the Land,
“ and that Justice may be equally and impartially
“ administered to all Men, it is that which We desire
“ to be sworn to Ourself, and that all Persons in
“ Power and Authority should be so too.

“ In a word, there is nothing that you can pro-
“ pose that may make the Kingdom happy, which
“ We will not contend with You to compass; and
“ upon this Confidence and Assurance, We have
“ thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you
“ may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see
“ Our Heart; which, when God shall bring Us
“ nearer together (as We hope he will do shortly)
“ will appear to you very agreeable to what We
“ have professed; and We hope, that We have made
“ that right Christian use of Our Affliction, and that
“ the observation and experience We have had in
“ other Countries, have been such, as that We, and,
“ We hope, all Our Subjects, shall be the better for
“ what We have seen and suffered.

“ We shall add no more, but Our Prayers to Al-
“ mighty God, that he will so bless your Counsels,
“ and direct your Endeavours, that his Glory and
“ Worship may be provided for; and the Peace,
“ Honor, and Happiness of the Nation, may be estab-
“ lished upon those foundations which can best
“ support it. And so We bid you farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14th day of April
1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

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The King's
Declaration.*His Majesty's Declaration.**Charles R.*

“ *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*,
 “ *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the
 “ Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of what
 “ Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the general
 “ distraction, and confusion, which is spread over
 “ the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to
 “ a desire, and longing, that those Wounds which
 “ have so many years together been kept bleeding,
 “ may be bound up, all We can say will be to no
 “ purpose. However, after this long silence. We
 “ have thought it Our Duty to declare, how much
 “ We desire to contribute thereunto: and that, as
 “ We can never give over the hope, in good time,
 “ to obtain the possession of that Right, which God
 “ and Nature hath made Our due; so We do make
 “ it Our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that
 “ he will, in compassion to Us, and Our Subjects,
 “ after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put
 “ Us into a quiet, and peaceable Possession of that
 “ Our Right, with as little blood and damage to Our
 “ People as is possible; nor do We desire more to
 “ enjoy what is Ours, than that all Our Subjects may
 “ enjoy what by Law is **Theirs**, by a full and entire
 “ administration of Justice throughout the Land,
 “ and by extending Our Mercy where it is wanted
 “ and deserved.

“ And to the end that fear of punishment may not
 “ engage any conscious to themselves of what is past,
 “ to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by oppo-
 “ sing the quiet and happiness of their Country, in

“ the Restoration both of King, and Peers, and
“ People, to their just, ancient, and fundamental
“ Rights; We do by these presents declare, that We
“ do grant a free and general Pardon, which We are
“ ready, upon demand, to pass under Our Great-Seal
“ of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what Degree or
“ Quality soever, who within forty days after the
“ publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our
“ Grace and Favor, and shall by any Public Act de-
“ clare their doing so, and that they return to the
“ Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excep-
“ ting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excep-
“ ted by Parliament. Those only excepted, let all
“ Our Subjects, how Faulty soever, rely upon the
“ word of a King, solemnly given by this present
“ Declaration, that no Crime whatsoever committed
“ against Us, or Our Royal Father, before the pu-
“ blication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be
“ brought in question, against any of them, to the
“ least indamagement of them, either in their Lives,
“ Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our
“ Power) so much as to the prejudice of their Repu-
“ tations, by any reproach, or terms of distinction
“ from the rest of Our best Subjects; We desiring, and
“ ordaining, that henceforward all Notes of discord,
“ separation, and difference of Parties, be utterly
“ abolished among all Our Subjects; whom We in-
“ vite and conjure to a perfect Union among them-
“ selves, under Our Protection, for the Resettlement
“ of Our just Rights, and Theirs, in a free Parlia-
“ ment; by which, upon the word of a King, we
“ Will be advised.

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“ And because the passion and uncharitableness of
“ the Times, have produced several opinions in Re-
“ ligion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and
“ Animosities against each other; which, when they
“ shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation,
“ will be composed, or better understood; We do
“ declare a Liberty to tender Consciences; and that
“ no Man shall be disquieted, or called in question,
“ for differences of opinion in matters of Religion
“ which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom;
“ and that We shall be ready to consent to such an
“ Act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation,
“ shall be offered to Us, for the full granting that
“ Indulgence.

“ And because in the continued distractions of so
“ many years, and so many and great Revolutions,
“ many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been
“ made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and
“ Others, who are now possessed of the same, and
“ who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon several
“ Titles; We are likewise willing that all such differ-
“ ences, and all things relating to such Grants,
“ Sales, and Purchases, shall be determined in Par-
“ liament; which can best provide for the just satis-
“ faction of all Men who are concerned.

“ And We do farther declare, that We will be
“ ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament
“ to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfac-
“ tion of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers
“ of the Army under the Command of General *Monk*;
“ and that they shall be received into Our Service

“ upon as good pay, and conditions, as they now
 “ enjoy.”

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*Given under Our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at
 Our Court at Breda, the 14th day of April, 1660,
 in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

Charles R.

“ Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins,
 “ and Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousins, and
 “ Trusty and Right Well-beloved; We greet you
 “ Well. We cannot have a better reason to promise
 “ Ourself an end of Our common sufferings and cala-
 “ mities, and that Our own just Power and Autho-
 “ rity will, with God’s blessing, be restored to Us,
 “ than that You are again acknowledged to have that
 “ Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always be-
 “ longed to you by your Birth, and the fundamen-
 “ tal Laws of the Land: and We have thought it
 “ very fit and safe for Us to call to you for your Help,
 “ in the composing the confounding distempers and
 “ distractions of the Kingdom; in which Your suf-
 “ ferings are next to those We have undergone Our-
 “ self; and therefore You cannot but be the most
 “ proper Counsellors for removing those Mischiefs,
 “ and for preventing the like for the future. How
 “ great a Trust We repose in you, for the procuring
 “ and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for
 “ the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed
 “ Declaration; which Trust, We are most confident
 “ you will discharge with that Justice, and Wisdom,
 “ that becomes you, and must always be expected
 “ from you; and that, upon your experience how

His Majesty’s
 Letter to the
 House of
 Lords.

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“ one violation succeeds another, when the known
 “ Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed,
 “ you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown,
 “ and for the Honor of your King, as for Your-
 “ selves: and then you cannot but discharge your
 “ Trust with good Success, and provide for, and
 “ establish the Peace, Happiness, and Honor of King,
 “ Lords, and Commons, upon that foundation which
 “ can only support it; and We shall be all happy in
 “ each other: and as the whole Kingdom will bless
 “ God for You all, so We shall hold Ourselves obliged
 “ in an especial manner to thank You in particular,
 “ according to the Affection You shall express to-
 “ wards Us. We need the less enlarge to you upon
 “ this Subject, because We have likewise writ to the
 “ House of Commons; which We suppose they will
 “ communicate to you. And We pray God to bless
 “ your joint Endeavours for the good of Us all. And
 “ so We bid you very heartily farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14th day of
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monk, and
 General Mountague, Generals at Sea, to be
 communicated to the Fleet.*

Charles R.

His Majesty's
Letter to the
Fleet.

“ Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well.
 “ It is no small comfort to Us, after so long and great
 “ Troubles and Miseries, which the whole Nation
 “ hath groaned under; and after so great Revolu-
 “ tions, which have still increased those Miseries,

“ to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which are the
 “ Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Com-
 “ mand of two Persons so well disposed to, and con-
 “ cerned in, the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom,
 “ as We believe You to be; and that the Officers
 “ and Seamen under your Command, are more in-
 “ clined to return to their duty to Us, and put
 “ a period to these distempers and distractions,
 “ which have so impoverished, and dishonored the
 “ Nation, than to widen the Breach, and to raise
 “ their Fortunes by rapine and violence; which
 “ gives Us great encouragement and hope, that God
 “ Almighty will heal the Wounds by the same Plaif-
 “ ter that made the flesh raw; that he will proceed in
 “ the same Method in pouring his Blessings upon
 “ Us, which he was pleased to use, when he began
 “ to afflict us; and that the manifestation of the good
 “ Affection of the Fleet and Seamen towards Us, and
 “ the Peace of the Nation, may be the Prologue to
 “ that Peace, which was first interrupted by the Mis-
 “ take and Misunderstanding of their Predecessors;
 “ which would be such a Blessing upon Us all, that
 “ We should not be less delighted with the manner,
 “ than the matter of it.

“ In this hope and confidence, We have sent the
 “ inclosed Declaration to you; by which you may
 “ discern, how much We are willing to contribute
 “ towards the obtaining the general and Public Peace,
 “ in which, as no Man can be more, or so much, con-
 “ cerned, so no Man can be more solicitous for it.
 “ And We do earnestly desire you, that you will
 “ cause the said Declaration to be published to all the

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“ Officers and Seamen of the Fleet ; to the end, that
 “ they may plainly discern, how much We have put
 “ it into Their power to provide for the Peace and
 “ Happiness of the Nation, who have been always
 “ understood by them to be the best and most proper
 “ Counsellors for those good ends : and You are like-
 “ wise farther to declare to them, that We have the
 “ same gracious purpose towards Them, which We
 “ have expressed towards the Army at Land ; and
 “ will be as ready to provide for the payment of all
 “ Arrears due to them, and for rewarding them ac-
 “ cording to their several Merits, as We have expref-
 “ sed to the other ; and We will always take so parti-
 “ cular a care of them and their Condition, as *shall*
 “ manifest Our kindness towards them. And so
 “ depending upon God’s Blessing, for infusing those
 “ good Resolutions into Your, and Their Hearts,
 “ which are best for Us all ; We bid you farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14 day of
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Lord Mayor,
 Aldermen, and Common Conncil, of Our City of
 London.*

Charles R.

His Majesty’s
 Letter to the
 Lord Mayor
 and Alder-
 men of the
 City of
 London

“ Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well.
 “ In these great Revolutions of late, happened in
 “ that Our Kingdom, to the wonder and amazement
 “ of all the world, there is none that We have looked
 “ upon with more comfort, than the so frequent and
 “ public manifestations of their Affections to Us in
 the

“ the City of *London*; which hath exceedingly
 “ raised Our Spirits, and which, no doubt, hath pro-
 “ ceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraor-
 “ dinary Mercy to the Nation; which hath been
 “ encouraged by You, and your good Example, to
 “ assert that Government under which it hath, so
 “ many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as
 “ any Nation in *Europe*; and to discountenance the
 “ Imaginations of those who would subject Our
 “ Subjects to a Government they have not yet devis-
 “ ed, and, to satisfy the pride and ambition of a few
 “ ill Men, would introduce the most Arbitrary and
 “ Tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How
 “ long We have all suffered under those and the like
 “ devices, all the world takes notice, to the no small
 “ reproach of the *English* Nation; which We hope is
 “ now providing for its own Security and Redemp-
 “ tion, and will be no longer bewitched by those
 “ Inventions.

“ How desirous We are to contribute to the obtain-
 “ ing the Peace and Happiness of our Subjects
 “ without effusion of blood; and how far We are from
 “ desiring to recover what belongs to Us by a War,
 “ if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by
 “ the inclosed Declaration; which, together with
 “ this Our Letter, We have intrusted Our Right
 “ Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, the Lord
 “ Viscount *Mordaunt*, and Our Trusty and Well-be-
 “ loved Servant, Sir *John Greenvil*, Knight, one of the
 “ Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to
 “ you; to the end, that You, and all the rest of Our
 “ good Subjects of that Our City of *London* (to whom

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“ We desire it should be published) may know, how
“ far We are from the desire of revenge, or that the
“ Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom,
“ should be raised upon any other foundation than
“ the affections and hearts of Our Subjects, and their
“ own Consents.

“ We have not the least doubt of your just sense of
“ these our Condescensions, or of your Zeal to ad-
“ vance and promote the same good end, by dispo-
“ sing all Men to meet Us with the same affection
“ and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental Laws
“ to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon
“ the preservation whereof all our happiness depends.
“ And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying
“ your full share in that happiness, and of the impro-
“ ving it by our particular affection to you. It is very
“ natural for all Men to do all the good they can for
“ their Native Country, and to advance the honor of
“ it; and We have that full Affection for the Kingdom
“ in general, so We would not be thought to be with-
“ out some Extraordinary kindness for Our Native
“ City in that particular; which We shall manifest on
“ all occasions, not only by renewing their Charter,
“ and confirming all those Privileges which they
“ have received from Our Predecessors, but by ad-
“ ding and granting any new Favors, which may
“ advance the Trade, Wealth, and Honor of that
“ Our Native City; for which We will be so soli-
“ citous, that We doubt not but that it will, in due
“ time, receive some Benefit and Advantage in all
“ those respects, even from Our own observation and
“ experience abroad. And We are most confident,

“ We shall never be disappointed in Our expectation
 “ of all possible Service from your Affections: And
 “ so We bid you farewell.”

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*Given at Our Court at Breda, the 14th day of
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our Reign.*

The two Gentlemen lately mentioned to have been with the King returned to *London* before the defeat of *Lambert*, and a full week before the Parliament was to begin. The General, upon the perusal of the Copies of the several despatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honor, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the King; and though he was offered all the Authority that *Cromwell* had enjoyed, and the Title of King, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the Interest of his Majesty: yet he as carefully retained the Secret, and did not Communicate to any Person living (Mr. *Morrice* only excepted) that he had received any Letter from the King, till the very minute that he presented it to the House of Commons.

Sir John
 Greenvil
 arrives in
 England, and
 communicates
 the Letter to
 the General.

The General's
 behaviour
 after that
 time.

There happened at the same time a concurrence, which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction that hindered the Universal consent to call in the King, was the Conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproachful, and barbarous usage, which all the Royal Party had sustained, and the Apprehension that their Animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon and Indemnity granted by the King, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that They who had been kept under, and oppressed for near

Declarations
 of the King's
 party at this
 time; which
 had great
 effect.

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twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the King's Restoration, with extreme Licence and Insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet Persons of the King's Party caused a Declaration to be prepared; in which (after their acknowledgments and thanks to the General, "for having, next under the Divine
" Providence, so far conducted these Nations towards
" a happy recovery of their Laws, and ancient Government) they sincerely professed, that they
" reflected on their past Sufferings as from the hand
" of God; and therefore did not cherish any violent
" thoughts or inclinations against any Persons whatsoever, who had been any way instrumental in
" them; and that, if the indiscretion of any particular
" Persons should transport them to Expressions contrary to this their general Sense, they utterly
" disclaimed them." They farther promised, "by
" their quiet and peaceable behaviour, to testify their
" submission to the Council of State, in expectation
" of the future Parliament; on whose wisdom, they
" trusted, God would give such a Blessing, as might
" produce a perfect Settlement both in Church and
" State." And lastly they declared, "that, as the
" General had not chosen the sandy foundations of
" Self-Government, but the firm Rock of National
" Interest, whereon to frame a settlement, so it was
" their hope and prayer, that, when the building
" should come to be raised, it might not, like *Rome*,
" have the beginning in the blood of Brethren; nor,
" like *Babel*, be interrupted by confusion of Tongues; but that all might speak one Language, and

“ be of one Name; that all mention of Parties and
 “ Factions, and all Rancor and Animosities may be
 “ thrown in, and buried, like Rubbish under the
 “ Foundation.”

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These professions, or to the same purpose, under the Title of a Declaration of the Nobility, and Gentry, and Clergy, that had served the late King, or his present Majesty, or adhered to the Royal Party in such a City or County, which was named, were Signed by all the considerable Persons therein; as This that We have here mentioned, was subscribed by great Numbers in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and so were several others from other places; and then all Printed with their Names, and published to the view of the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies, which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good Understanding between them.

Nothing hath been of late said of *Ireland*; which waited upon the dictates of the Governing Party in *England* with the same giddiness. The *Irish*, who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past Miscarriages and Madness by doing Service for the King, were under as severe a Captivity, and complete Misery, as the worst of their Actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thousand of them Transported into Foreign parts, for the Service of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that Number consumed by the Plague and Famine, and Severities

The Affairs
 of Ireland for
 some years past
 till this time.

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exercised upon them in their own Country; the remainder of them had been by *Cromwell* (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the Province of *Conaught*; and it was lawful for any Man to kill any of the *Irish*, who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that Circuit. Such a proportion of Land was allotted to every Man as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal Releases of all their pretences and titles to any Lands in any other Provinces, of which they had been deprived; and if they refused to give such Releases, they were still deprived of what they would not Release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it; and left to starve within the Limits prescribed to them; out of which they durst not withdraw; and They who did adventure, were without all remorse prosecuted by the *English*, as soon as they were discovered: so that very few refused to sign those Releases, or other Acts which were demanded; upon which the Lords and Gentlemen, had such Assignments of Land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their Qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that Province, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other Provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by Husbandry raise any thing out of their Lands to support their Lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence,

and to be in some sort industrious; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the Limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard Articles which had been granted, were not punctually observed to them; but their proportions restrained, and lessened by some pretences of the *English*, under some former Grants, or other Titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a Conquered Nation; which reproach the *Irish* had taken so heavily from the Earl of *Strafford*, when they were equally free with the *English*, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that Charge upon which he lost his Life.

Upon the recalling, and tame Submission of *Harry Cromwell* to the Rump-Parliament, as soon as his Brother *Richard* was deposed, the Factions increased in *Ireland* to a very great height, as well amongst the Soldiers and Officers of the Army, as in the Council of State, and amongst the Civil-Magistrates. The Lord *Broghill*, who was President of *Munster*, and of a very great interest, and influence upon that whole Province, though he had great wariness in discovering his Inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated *Lambert* so much, that he less feared the King; and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his Majesty Service; and he had a good Post, and a good Party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

Sir *Charles Coot*, who was President of *Conaught*, and had a good Command, and Interest in the Army,

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was a Man of less Guilt, and more Courage, and impatience to serve the King. He sent over Sir *Arthur Forbes*, a *Scottish* Gentleman of good Affection to the King, and good Interest in the Province of *Ulster*, where he was an Officer of Horse. This Gentleman Sir *Charles Coot* sent to *Brussels* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, “ that he might assure his Majesty of his
“ Affection and Duty ; and that, if his Majesty would
“ vouchsafe himself to come into *Ireland*, he was
“ confident the whole Kingdom would declare for
“ him : that though the present Power in *England*
“ had removed all the sober Men from the Govern-
“ ment of the State, in *Ireland*, under the Character
“ of Presbyterians ; and had put *Ludlow*, *Corbet*, and
“ others of the King’s Judges in their places ; yet they
“ were so generally odious to the Army as well as to
“ the People, that they could seize upon their Persons,
“ and the very Castle of *Dublin*, when they should
“ judge it convenient.

Sir *Arthur Forbes* arrived at *Brussels*, before the King had any assurance or confident hope of the General, and when few Men thought his Fortune better than desperate : so that, if what Sir *Arthur* proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most Men about the Court would have been very solicitous for his Majesty’s going into *Ireland*. But his Majesty well knew that that unhappy Kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of *England* ; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there ; which, in his own thoughts, he still believed would produce somewhat, in the end, of which he should have the benefit ; and dismissed Sir *Arthur Forbes*

with such Letters and Commissions as he desired; who thereupon returned for *Ireland*; where he found the State of Affairs very much altered since his departure. For upon the Defeat of *Lambert*, and General *Monk*'s marching towards *London*, the Lord *Broghill*, and Sir *Charles Coot*, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined with such other Persons who were Presbyterians, and though they had been always against the King, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the Persons who had been put in by *Lambert*, or the Rump-Parliament, and submitted to the Orders of General *Monk*, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the King; and so, by the time that the Parliament was to meet at *Westminster*, all things were so well disposed in *Ireland*, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the General, and the Parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

The Parliament met upon the five-and-twentieth day of *April*; of which the General was returned a Member, to serve as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*; Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* was chosen Speaker, who had been a Member of the long Parliament, and continued, rather than concurred, with them till after the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*; where he was one of the Commissioners sent to Treat with that King, and behaved himself so well, that his Majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he pressed the acceptance of the King's Concessions; and was thereupon in the Number of those who were by force excluded the House. His

The Parlia-
ment met
April 25.
Sir Harbottle
Grimstone
chosen
Speaker.

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Their first
Proceedings.

Election to be Speaker at this time was contrived by those who meant well to the King; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter Invectives against the Memory of *Cromwell*, as an odious and perjured Tyrant, with Execrations upon the unchristian Murder of the late King. And in these generals they spent the first days of sitting; no Man having the Courage, how Loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his Majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the General was of; who, could only protect such a Proposition from being penal to the Person that made it, by the former Ordinances of the Rump-Parliament.

May the first, the General acquaints the House of Sir J. Grenvil's bringing him a Letter from the King. Sir J. Grenvil is called in, and delivers the Letter to the House of Commons.

After the General had well surveyed the temper of the House, upon the first of *May* he came into the House, and told them, "one Sir *John Grenvil*, who
" was a Servant of the King's, had brought him a
" Letter from his Majesty; which he had in his
" hand, but would not presume to open it without
" Their direction; and that the same Gentleman was
" at the door, and had a Letter to the House:" which was no sooner said, than with a general Acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the Bar, he said, "that he was commanded by the
" King his Master, having been lately with him at
" *Breda*, to deliver that Letter to the House:" which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the Serjeant to be delivered to the Speaker, he withdrew.

Both Letters, and the Declaration, read.

The House immediately called to have both Letters read, that to the General, and that to the Speaker; which being done, the Declaration was as greedily

called for, and read. And from this time *Charles Stuart* was no more heard of: and so universal a Joy was never seen within those Walls; and though there were some Members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the House, nor with the Argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardiness to appear less transported than the rest; who, not deferring it one Moment, and without one contradicting Voice, appointed a Committee to prepare an Answer to his Majesty's Letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the House had of his gracious Offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty; and that the House would give a speedy Answer to his Majesty's gracious Proposals. They likewise Ordered, at the same time, that both his Majesty's Letters, that to the House, and that to the General, with his Majesty's Declaration therein inclosed, and the Resolution of the House thereupon, should be forthwith Printed and Published.

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XVI.

Received
with universal
Joy.

A Committee
appointed
to prepare
an Answer.

All Ordered
to be printed.

This kind of Reception was beyond what the best affected, nay even the King, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The Lords, when they saw what Spirit the House of Commons was possessed of, would not lose Their share of Thanks, but made haste into their House without excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting there for their Delinquency; and then they received likewise the Letter from Sir *John Grenvil* which his Majesty had directed to them; and they received it

Sir J. Grenvil
delivers
the Letter to

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the House of
Lords :The Lord
Mayor, &c.
receive their
Letter with
the same du-
ty: So does
the Army
and Fleet.

with the same Duty and acknowledgment. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, were likewise transported with the King's goodness towards them, and with the Expressions of his Royal Clemency; and entered into close Deliberation, what return they should make to him to manifest their Duty and Gratitude. And the Officers of the Army, and Fleet, upon the sight of the Letters to their Generals, and his Majesty's Declaration, thought themselves highly honored, in that they were looked upon as good Instruments of his Majesty's Restoration; and made those Vows, and published such Declarations of their Loyalty and Duty, as their Generals, caused to be provided for them; which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, the General managed the business, which he now owned himself to have undertaken, with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humor of his Officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their Commands whose Affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was most assured. In a word, there was either real Joy in the Hearts of all Men, or at least their Countenance appeared such as if they were glad at the Heart.

The Committee who were appointed by the House of Commons to prepare an Answer to the King's Letter, found it hard to satisfy all Men, who were well contented that the King should be invited to return: but some thought, that the Guilt of the Nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used; and that the Treaty ought first to be made

with the King, and Conditions of Security agreed on, before his Majesty should be received. Many of those, who had conferred together before the meeting of the Parliament, had designed some Articles to be prepared, according to the Model of those at *Killingworth*, in the time of King *Henry* the Third, to which the King should be sworn before he came home. Then the Presbyterian Party, of which there were many Members in Parliament, though they were rather Troublesome than Powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the Covenant; and, at least, that somewhat should be inserted in their Answer to the discountenance of the Bishops. But the warmer Zeal of the House threw away all those formalities and affectations: They said, "they had proceeded too far already in their Vote upon the receipt of the Letter, to fall back again, and to offend the King with colder Expressions of their Duty." In the end, after some days debate, finding an equal impatience without the Walls to that within the House, they were contented to gratify the Presbyterians in the length of the Answer, and in using some Expressions which would please Them, and could do the King no prejudice; and all agreed, that This Answer should be returned to his Majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

Most Royal Sovereign,

" We Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, the
 " Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, do,
 " with all humbleness, present unto Your Majesty

The Answer
 of the House
 of Commons
 to the King.

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“ the unfeigned thankfulness of Our hearts, for those
“ gracious Expressions of Piety, and Goodness, and
“ Love to Us, and the Nations under Your Domi-
“ nion, which your Majesty’s Letter of the 4 of
“ *April*, dated from *Breda*, together with the Decla-
“ ration inclosed in it of the same date, do so evi-
“ dently contain. For which We do, in the first place,
“ look up to the great King of King’s, and bless his
“ Name, who hath put these thoughts into the Heart
“ of Our King, to make him glorious in the Eyes of
“ his People; as those great Deliverances, which that
“ Divine Majesty hath afforded unto Your Royal
“ Person, from many dangers, and the support which
“ he hath given to your Heroic and Princely mind
“ under various Trials, make it appear to all the
“ World that You are precious in His sight. And
“ give Us leave to say, that as your Majesty is pleased
“ to declare Your Confidence in Parliaments, Your
“ Esteem of them, and this Your Judgment, and
“ Character of them, that they are so necessary for
“ the Government of the Kingdom, that neither
“ Prince nor People can be in any tolerable degree
“ happy without them, and therefore say, that You
“ will hearken unto their Counsels, be tender of their
“ Privileges, and careful to preserve, and protect
“ them; so We trust, and will, with all humility, be
“ bold to affirm, that your Majesty will not be de-
“ ceived in Us, and that We will never depart from
“ that Fidelity which We owe unto your Majesty,
“ that Zeal which We bear unto your Service, and
“ a constant endeavour to advance Your Honor and
“ Greatness.”

“ And we beseech your Majesty, We may add
“ this farther for the vindication of Parliaments, and
“ even of the last Parliament, convened under your
“ Royal Father of happy Memory, when, as your
“ Majesty well observes, through mistakes, and
“ misunderstandings, many inconveniences were
“ produced, which were not intended, that those
“ very inconveniences could not have been brought
“ upon Us by those Persons who had designed
“ them, without violating the Parliament itself.
“ For they well knew it was not possible to do a
“ violence to that Sacred Person, whilst the Par-
“ liament, which had vowed and covenanted for
“ the defence and safety of that Person, remained
“ entire. Surely, Sir, as the Persons of Our Kings
“ have ever been dear unto Parliaments, so We can-
“ not think of that horrid Act committed against the
“ precious life of Our late Sovereign, but with such
“ a detestation, and abhorrency, as We want words
“ to express it; and, next to wishing it had never
“ been, We wish it may never be remembered by
“ your Majesty, to be unto you an occasion of sor-
“ row; as it will never be remembered by Us, but
“ with that grief and trouble of mind which it de-
“ serves; being the greatest reproach that ever was
“ incurred by any of the *English* Nation, an Offence
“ to all the Protestant Churches abroad, and a scandal
“ to the profession of the truth of Religion here at
“ home; though both Profession, and true Professors,
“ and the Nation itself, as well as the Parliament,
“ were most innocent of it; it having been only the
“ Contrivance and Act of some few Ambitious and

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“ Bloody Persons, and such others, as by Their influence were misled. And as We hope and pray, that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the evil Consequences thereof, unto the Land, whose Divine Justice never involves the guiltless with the guilty, so We cannot but give due praise to your Majesty’s goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled, and reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as it were prevent your Parliament and People, proposing yourself in a great measure, and inviting the Parliament to consider farther, and advise your Majesty, what may be necessary to restore the Nation to what it hath lost, raise up again the Banks and Fences of it, and make the Kingdom happy by the advancement of Religion, the Security of Our Laws, Liberties, and Estates, and the removing all Jealousies and Animosities, which may render our Peace less certain and durable. Wherein your Majesty gives a large Evidence of your great Wisdom; judging aright, that, after so high a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the very foundations, great care must be had to repair the breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to provide things necessary for the strengthening of those repairs, and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken them. ”

“ We shall immediately apply ourselves to the preparing of these things; and in a very short time, We hope to be able to present them to your Majesty; and for the present do with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your Grace and Favor in assuring Us
of

“ of your Royal concurrence with Us, and saying,
 “ that we shall not expect any thing from you, but
 “ what You will be as ready to give, as We to receive.
 “ And We cannot doubt of your Majesty’s effectual
 “ performance since your own Princely judgment
 “ hath prompted unto you the necessity of doing such
 “ things; and your piety and goodness hath carried
 “ you to a free tender of them to your faithful Parlia-
 “ ment. You speak as a Gracious King, and We will
 “ do what befits Dutiful, Loving, and Loyal Subjects;
 “ who are yet more engaged to honor, and highly
 “ esteem your Majesty, for your declining, as you
 “ were pleased to say, all Foreign Assistance, and
 “ rather trusting to your People; who, We do assure
 “ your Majesty, will, and do open their Arms and
 “ their Hearts to receive you, and will spare neither
 “ their Estates, nor their Lives, when your Service
 “ shall require it of them.

“ And We have yet more Cause to enlarge our
 “ Praise and our Prayers to God for your Majesty,
 “ that You have continued unshaken in your faith;
 “ that neither the temptation of allurements, persua-
 “ sions, and promises from seducing Papists on the
 “ one hand, nor the persecution, and hard usage from
 “ some seduced, and misguided Professors of the Pro-
 “ testant Religion on the other hand, could at all
 “ prevail on your Majesty, to make You forsake the
 “ Rock of *Israel*, the God of your Fathers, and the
 “ true Protestant Religion, in which your Majesty
 “ hath been bred; but you have still been as a Rock
 “ Yourself, firm to your Covenant with Your and
 “ Our God, even now expressing your Zeal and

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“ Affection for the Protestant Religion, and your care
 “ and study for the propagation thereof. This hath
 “ been a rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the
 “ Land, and an Assurance to them that God would
 “ not forsake you ; but after many Trials, which
 “ should but make you more precious, as Gold out
 “ of the fire, would restore your Majesty unto your
 “ Patrimony, and People, with more Splendor and
 “ Dignity, and make you the Glory of Kings, and the
 “ Joy of your Subjects : which is, and shall ever be,
 “ the Prayer of your Majesty’s most Loyal Subjects,
 “ the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament.”

*Which Letter was signed by Sir Harbottle Grimstone
 Speaker.*

**This Answer
 is delivered
 to Sir John
 Grenvil.**

As soon as this Letter was engrossed and signed, Sir
John Grenvil was appointed to attend again ; and he
 being brought to the Bar, the Speaker stood up, and
 told him, “ that They need not acquaint him with
 “ what grateful hearts they had received his Majes-
 “ ty’s gracious Letter ; he himself was an ear and
 “ eye-witness of it : their Bells and their Bonfires
 “ had already begun the Proclamation of his Majesty’s
 “ goodness, and of Their joys ; that they had now
 “ prepared an Answer to his Majesty, which should
 “ be delivered to him ; and that they did not think
 “ fit he should return to their Royal Sovereign with-
 “ out some testimony of their respects to himself ;
 “ and therefore that they had ordered five hundred
 “ pounds to be delivered to him, to buy a Jewel to
 “ wear, as an honor for being the Messenger of so
 “ gracious a Message ; and in the Name of the House

he gave him their most hearty thanks. So great and sudden a Change was this, that a Servant of the King's, who, for near ten years together, had been in Prisons, and under confinements, only for being the King's Servant, and would, but three Months before, have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if he had been known to have seen the King, should be now rewarded for bringing a Message from him. From this time there was such an Emulation and Impatience in Lords, and Commons, and City, and generally over the Kingdom, who should make the most lively Expressions of their Duty and of their Joy, that a Man could not but wonder where those People dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the King so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent Subjects.

The Lords and the Commons now conferred together, how they might with more Lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his Majesty's Return. They remembered, that, upon the Murder of the late King, there was a Declaration, that no Man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his Estate, should presume to proclaim his Successor; which so terrified the People, that they scarce dared so much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this Parliament had now, by all the ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the People, to make some solemn Proclamation of his Majesty's undoubted Right to the Crown, and to oblige all Men to pay that reverence, and duty to him, which they ought to do by the Laws

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B O O K of God and of the Land. Whereupon they gave order
xvi. to prepare such a Proclamation; which being done, the Lords and Commons, the General having concerted all things with the City met in *Westminster-Hall* upon the 8th of *May*, within seven days after the receipt of the King's Letter; and walked into the *Palace-yard*; where they all stood bare, whilst the Heralds proclaimed the King. Then they went to *White Hall*, and did the same; and afterwards at *Temple-Bar*; where the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and all the Companies of the City received them, when the like Proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the City; which done, the remainder of the Day, and the Night, was spent in those Acclamations, Festivals, Bells and Bonfires, as are the natural Attendants upon such Solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his Majesty's invitation and Reception. The Proclamation made was in these words:

The King
 proclaimed
 May 8.

“ Although it can no way be doubted, but that his
 “ Majesty's Right, and Title to his Crown and King-
 “ doms, is, and was every way completed by the
 “ death of his most Royal Father of glorious Me-
 “ mory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a
 “ Proclamation; yet, since Proclamations in such
 “ Cases have been always used, to the end that all
 “ good Subjects might, upon this occasion, testify
 “ their duty and respect, and since the armed violence,
 “ and other the Calamities of many years last past,
 “ have hitherto deprived Us of any such opportunity,
 “ whereby We might express Our Loyalty and

“ Allegiance to his Majesty, We therefore, the Lords
 “ and Commons now Assembled in Parliament, to-
 “ gether with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Com-
 “ mons of the City of *London*, and other Freemen of
 “ this Kingdom now present, do, according to our
 “ Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unani-
 “ mously acknowledge and proclaim, that immedi-
 “ ately upon the decease of Our late Sovereign Lord
 “ King *Charles*, the imperial Crown of the Realm of
 “ *England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and
 “ Rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent
 “ Birth-right and lawful undoubted Succession, de-
 “ scend and come to his most excellent Majesty *Char-*
 “ *les* the Second, as being lineally justly, and lawfully
 “ next Heir of the blood Royal of this Realm; and
 “ that, by the Goodness and Providence of Almighty
 “ God, He is of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*,
 “ the most Potent, Mighty, and undoubted King;
 “ and thereunto We most humbly and faithfully do
 “ submit, and oblige our-Selves, our Heirs, and Pos-
 “ terity for ever.”

From the time that the King came to *Breda*, very
 few days passed without some Express from *London*,
 upon the observations of his Friends, and the Appli-
 cations made to them by many who had been very
 active against the King, and were now as solicitous
 his Majesty should know, that they wholly dedicat-
 ed themselves to his Service. Even before the General
 had declared himself, or the Parliament was Assem-
 bled, some, who had sat Judges upon his Father,
 sent many Excuses, that they were forced to it, and
 offered to perform signal Services, if they might obtain

Many Ad-
 dresses to the
 King.

B O O K their Pardon. But his Majesty would admit no Address from them, nor hearken to any Propositions made on their behalf.

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The Particular Case of Ingoldsby.

There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the Case of Colonel *Ingoldsby*; who was in the Number of the late King's Judges, and whose Name was in the Warrant for his Murder. He, from the depofal of *Richard*, had declared, that he would serve the King, and told Mr. *Mordaunt*, "that he would perform all Services he could, without making any conditions; and would be well content, that his Majesty, when he came home, should take his head off, if he thought fit; only he desired that the King might know the truth of his Case; which was this."

He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and near allied to *Cromwell*, who had drawn him into the Army before, or about the time when he came first to Age, where he grew to be a Colonel of Horse, and to have the Reputation of great Courage against the Enemy, and of equal Civility to all Men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be Judges of the King; and it is as true, that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the Action in his Heart, and having no other Passion in any part of the Quarrel, but his personal kindness to *Cromwell*. The next day after the Horrid Sentence was pronounced, he had an occasion to speak with an Officer, who, he was told, was in the Painted-Chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw *Cromwell*, and the rest of those who had sat upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards,

assembled to sign the Warrant for the King's death. As soon as *Cromwell's* Eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the Table; and said, "though he had escaped him
 " all the while before, he should now sign that Paper
 " as well as They;" which he, seeing what it was, refused with great Passion; saying, "he knew nothing of the business;" and offered to go away. But *Cromwell*, and others, held him by Violence; and *Cromwell*, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the Pen between his Fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, "if his Name
 " there were compared with what he had ever writ
 " himself, it could never be looked upon as his own
 " hand."

Though his Majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his Pardon; presuming that, if all these Allegations were true, there would be a Season when a distinction would be made, without his Majesty's declaring himself between him and those others of that Bloody List, which he resolved never to Pardon. Nor was *Ingoldsby* at all disheartened with this, but pursued his former Resolutions, and first surpris'd the Castle of *Windsor* (where there was a great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition) and put out that Governor whom the Rump had put in; and afterwards took *Lambert* Prisoner, as is before remembered.

Whilst the Fleet was preparing, Admiral *Mountague* sent his Cousin *Edward Mountague* to the King, to let him know that, as soon as it should be ready, (which

Mountague's
Message to
the King.

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he hoped might be within so many days) he would be himself on Board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his Majesty's Orders: this was before the Parliament assembled. He sent word what Officers he was confident of and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the King had any Assurance of the General, who however, he wished, might know nothing of his Resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his Majesty, that he was restrained from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all Men, would not permit that liberty to his Majesty.

The frequent resort of Persons to *Brussels*, before they knew of the King's being gone to *Breda*, and their Communication of the good News they brought to his Majesty's Servants, and the other *English* who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the *Spanish* Ministers begin to think, that the King's Affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the King's remove to *Breda* than at first appeared. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his Majesty to remain in their Dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of greater resort thither to the King, and that he had staid longer there than he had seemed to intend to do,

the Marquis of *Carracena* sent a Person of prime Quality to *Breda*, “to invite his Majesty to return to *Brussels*; the rather, because he had received some very hopeful Propositions from *England*, to which he was not willing to make any Answer, without receiving his Majesty’s Approbation and Command.”

The Marquis of Carracena invites the King back to Brussels.

The King’s Answer.

The Marquis invites the King again, but in vain.

The King sent him word, “that he was obliged, with reference to his business in *England*, to stay where he was; and that he was not without hope that his Affairs might succeed so well, that he should not be necessitated to return to *Brussels* at all.” Which Answer the Marquis no sooner received, than he returned the same Messenger with a kind of Expostulation “for the indignity that would be offered to his Catholic Majesty, if he should leave his Dominions in such a Manner; and therefore besought him, either to return himself thither, or that the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, or at least one of them, might come to *Brussels*, that the world might not believe, that his Majesty was offended with the Catholic King; who had treated him so well.” When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the King, and both the Dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favors they had received from his Catholic Majesty, and of the Civilities showed to them by the Marquis himself, he revenged himself upon *Don Alonzo* with a million of reproaches, “for his stupidity and ignorance in the Affairs of *England*, and of every thing relating thereunto, after having resided sixteen years Ambassador in that Kingdom.”

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Cardinal Ma-
zarin per-
suades the
Queen-Mo-
ther of Eng-
land, to send
the Lord Jer-
myn to invite
the King to
come into
France.

Cardinal *Mazarin* had better Intelligence from the *French Ambassador* in *London*; who gave him diligent Accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that *Monk* had other Intentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the King was removed from *Brussels* to *Breda*, he presently persuaded the Queen-Mother of *England* to send the Lord *Jermyn* (whom the King had lately, upon his Mother's desire, Created Earl of St. *Albans*) to invite the King "to come into *France*; and to make that Treaty, which, probably, would be between the ensuing Parliament and his Majesty, in that Kingdom; which might prove of great use and advantage to her Majesty's Interest, and Honor; in which the power of the Cardinal might be of great importance in diverting, or allaying any insolent Demands which might be made." And the Cardinal himself made the same Invitation by that Lord, with professions of wonderful kindness; and "that the most Christian King was infinitely desirous to perform all those Offices and Respects to his Majesty, which he had always desired, but was never able to accomplish till Now;" with this Addition, that if his Majesty found that the expedition of his Affairs would not permit him to come to *Paris*, Order and Preparations should be made for his reception at *Calais*, or any other place he would appoint; where the Queen his Mother would attend him;" with all other expressions of the highest Esteem; which the cunning of that great Minister was plentifully supplied with.

The Earl of St. *Albans* found the King in too good

a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the Instances he brought; and was contented to return with the King's acknowledgments and excuse, "that he could not decently pass through *Flanders*, after he had refused to return to *Brussels*; and without going through those Provinces, he could not well make a Journey into *France*." In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his Majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the Ministers of these two great Kings, to enter into their Dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffered to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his Journey.

Several Persons now came to *Breda*, not, as heretofore to *Cologne*, and to *Brussels*, under disguises, and in fear to be discovered, but with bare Faces, and the Pride and Vanity to be taken notice of, to present their Duty to the King; some being employed to procure Pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good Presents in *English* Gold to the King, that their Names, and the Names of their Friends, who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their Affections that way to his Majesty, by supplying his Necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. By these Supplies his Majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts,

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The King's
Answer.

B O O K not only to pay all his Servants the Arrears of their
XVI. Board-Wages, but to give them all some Testimony
 of his Bounty, to raise their Spirits after so many
 years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this
 was before the delivery of the King's Letter by the
 General to the Parliament.

The States-
 General con-
 gratulate the
 King's com-
 ing to Breda;
 and the States
 of Holland
 invite him to
 the Hague.

The King had not been many days in *Breda*, before
 the States-General sent Deputies of their own Body
 to Congratulate his Majesty's Arrival in their Domi-
 nions, and to acknowledge the great Honor he had
 vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other De-
 puties came from the States of *Holland*, beseeching
 his Majesty, "that he would Grace that Province
 " with his Royal Presence at the *Hague*, where Pre-
 " parations should be made for his Reception, in
 " such a manner as would testify the great joy of their
 " Hearts for the blessings which Divine Providence
 " was pouring upon his Head." His Majesty accept-
 ing their invitation, they returned in order to make
 his Journey thither, and his Entertainment there,
 equal to their Professions.

In the mean time *Breda* swarmed with *English*, a
 multitude repairing thither from all other places, as
 well as *London*, with Presents, and Protestations,
 " how much they had longed, and prayed for this
 " blessed Change; and magnifying their Sufferings
 " under the late Tyrannical Government;" when
 some of them had been zealous Instruments and Pro-
 moters of it. The Magistrates of the Town took all
 imaginable care to express their Devotion to the
 King, by using all Civilities towards, and providing
 for the Accommodation of the multitude of his Sub.

jects, who resorted thither to express their Duty to him. So that no Man would have imagined by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the Inhabitants of that good Town, who had always passion for his Prosperity, and even then publicly detested the rudeness of their Superiors, whom they were bound to Obey.

All things being in readiness, and the States having sent their Yachts and other Vessels, for the Accommodation of his Majesty and his Train, as near to *Breda* as the River would permit, the King, with his Royal Sister and Brothers, left that place in the beginning of *May*; and, within an hour, Embarked themselves on Board the Yachts, which carried him to *Rotterdam*; *Dort*, and the other places near which they passed, making all those Expressions of Joy, by the conflux of the People to the banks of the River, and all other ways, which the Situation of those places would suffer. At *Rotterdam* they entered into their Coaches; from whence to the *Hague* they seemed to pass through one continued Street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the People on both sides, with such Acclamations of Joy, as if Theyselfes were now restored to Peace and Security.

The King
removes to
the Hague.

The Entrance into the *Hague*, and the Reception there, and the Conducting his Majesty to the House provided for his Entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the Pomp, Wealth, and Greatness of that State. The Treatment of his Majesty, and all who had relation to his Service,

The King's
Reception
and Entertain-
ment
there.

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at the States Charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the Universal Joy so visible, and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own Subjects. The States-General, in a Body, and the States of *Holland*, in a Body apart, performed their Compliments with all Solemnity; and then several Persons, according to their Faculties, made their professions; and a set Number of them was appointed always to wait in the Court, to receive his Majesty's Commands. All the Ambassadors and public Ministers of Kings, Princes, and States, repaired to his Majesty, and professed the Joy of their Masters on his behalf: so that a Man would have thought this Revolution had been brought to pass by the general Combination, and Activity of *Christendom*, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.

The English
Fleet comes
on the Coast
of Holland.

The King had been very few days at the *Hague*, when he heard that the *English* Fleet was in sight of *Scheveling*; and shortly after, an Officer from Admiral *Mountague* was sent to the King, to present his Duty to him, and to the Duke of *York*, their High-Admiral, to receive Orders. As soon as *Mountague* came on Board the Fleet in the *Downs*, and found *Lawson* and the other Officers more frank in declaring their Duty to the King, and Resolution to serve Him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, but to be carried by his own Affection and Duty, without expecting any Command from Them, the Wind coming fair, he set up his Sails, and stood for the Coast of *Holland*, leaving only two or three of the lesser Ships to receive

their Orders, and to bring over those Persons, who, he knew, were designed to wait upon his Majesty; which Expedition was never forgiven him by some Men; who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The Duke of *York* went the next day on Board the Fleet, to take Possession of his Command; where he was received by all the Officers and Seamen; with all possible Duty and Submission, and with those Acclamations which are peculiar to that People, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving Information of the state of the Fleet, and a Catalogue of the Names of the several Ships, his Highness returned with it that Night to the King, that his Majesty might make alterations, and new Christen those Ships which too much preserved the memory of the late Governors, and of the Republic.

The Duke of York as Admiral takes possession of the Fleet.

The Ships new named.

Shortly after, the Committee of Lords and Commons arrived at the *Hague*; where the States took care for their decent Accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his Majesty; who immediately received them very graciously. From the House of Peers were deputed six of their Body, and, according to custom, twelve from the Commons. The Peers were, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middlesex*, the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Berkeley* of *Berkeley-Castle*, and the Lord *Brook*. From the Commons were sent, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Castleton*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevil*, *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Horatio Townsend*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Henry Chol-*

The Committee of Lords and Commons arrive at the Hague.

B O O K *meley*. These Persons presented the humble invitation
xvi. and supplication of the Parliament, "that his Majesty
 " would be pleased to return, and take the Govern-
 " ment of the Kingdom into his hands; where he
 " should find all possible Affection, Duty, and Obe-
 " dience, from all his Subjects. And lest his return so
 much longed for might be retarded by the want of
 Money, to discharge those debts, which he could not
 but have contracted, they presented from the Parlia-
 ment the Sum of fifty thousand pounds to his Ma-
 jesty; having likewise Order to pay the Sum of ten
 thousand pounds to the Duke of *York*, and five thou-
 sand to the Duke of *Glocester*; which was a very
 good Supply to their several Necessities. The King
 treated all the Committee very graciously together,
 and every one of them severally and particularly very
 obligingly. So that some of them, who were con-
 scious to themselves of their former demerit, were
 very glad to find that they were not to fear any bit-
 terness from so Princely, and so generous a Nature.

The City of
 London send
 14 of their
 Citizens.

The City of *London* had had too great a hand in
 driving the Father of the King from thence, not to
 appear equally Zealous for his Son's return thither.
 And therefore they did, at the same time, send four-
 teen of the most Substantial Citizens " to assure his
 " Majesty of their Fidelity, and most cheerful Sub-
 " mission; and that they placed all their Felicity, and
 " hope of future Prosperity in the assurance of his
 " Majesty's Grace and Protection; for the meriting
 " whereof, their Lives and Fortunes should be al-
 " ways at his Majesty's disposal;" and they presented
 to him from the City the Sum of ten thousand
 pounds.

pounds. The King told them, “ he had always had a
“ particular Affection for the City of *London*, the
“ place of his Birth; and was very glad, that they
“ had now so good a part in his Restoration; of
“ which he was informed; and how much he was
“ beholding to every one of them;” for which he
thanked them very graciously, and Knighted them
all; an Honor no Man in the City had received in
near twenty years, and with which they were much
delighted.

It will hardly be believed, that this Money present-
ed to the King by the Parliament and the City, and
charged by Bills of Exchange upon the richest Mer-
chants in *Amsterdam*, who had vast Estates, could not
be received in many days, though some of the princi-
pal Citizens of *London*, who came to the King, went
themselves to solicit it, and had Credit enough them-
selves for much greater Sums, if they had brought
over no Bills of Exchange. But this was not the first
time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that
it was evident to the King, that it is not easy in that
most opulent City, with the help of all the rich Towns
adjacent, and upon the greatest Credit, to draw to-
gether a great Sum of ready Money; the custom of
that Country, which flourishes so much in Trade,
being to make their Payments in Paper by Assigna-
tions; they having very rarely occasion for a great
Sum in any one particular place. And so at this time
his Majesty was compelled, that he might not defer
the Voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take
Bills of Exchange from *Amsterdam* upon their Cor-
respondents in *London*, for above thirty thousand

B O O K

XVI.

Divers Pres-
byterian Di-
vines came
also.

Their public
Audience of
the King.

pounds of the Money that was assigned ; all which was paid in *London* as soon as demanded.

With these Commissioners from the Parliament and from the City, there came a Company of their Clergymen, to the Number of eight or ten ; who would not be looked upon as Chaplains to the rest, but being the Popular Preachers of the City (*Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton* : and others, the most eminent of the Presbyterians) desired to be thought to represent that Party. They intreated to be admitted all together to have a formal Audience of his Majesty ; where they presented their Duties, and magnified the Affections of themselves and their Friends ; who, they said, “ had always, according to the obligation of *their* “ Covenant, wished his Majesty very well ; and had “ lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into “ their hands, informed the People of their Duty ; “ which, they presumed, his Majesty had heard had “ proved effectual, and been of great use to him.” They thanked God “ for his Constancy to the Protestant “ Religion ;” and professed, “ that they were no Ene- “ mies to moderate Episcopacy ; only desired that “ such things might not be pressed upon them in “ God’s Worship, which in their judgment who “ used them were acknowledged to be matters indif- “ ferent, and by others were held unlawful.”

The King spoke very kindly to them ; and said, “ that he had heard of their good behaviour towards “ him ; and that he had no purpose to impose hard “ Conditions upon them, with reference to their “ Consciences : that they well knew, he had referred “ the settling all differences of that Nature to the “ Wisdom of the Parliament ; which best knew what

“ Indulgence and Toleration, was necessary for the
 “ Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom.” But his Majesty
 could not be so rid of them; they desired several pri-
 vate Audiences of him; which he never denied;
 wherein they told him, “the Book of Common-Prayer
 “ had been long discontinued in *England*, and the
 “ People having been disused to it, and many of them
 “ having never heard it in their Lives, it would be
 “ much wondered at, if his Majesty should, at his first
 “ Landing in the Kingdom, revive the use of it in his
 “ own Chapel; whither all Persons would resort;
 “ and therefore they besought him, that he would not
 “ use it entirely and formally, but have only some
 “ parts of it read, with mixture of other good Prayers,
 “ which his Chaplains might use.”

B O O K
 XVI.
 And their
 private dis-
 courses also
 with him.

The King told them with some warmth, “that
 “ whilst he gave Them liberty, he would not have
 “ his own taken from him: that he had always used
 “ that form of Service, which he thought the best in
 “ the world, and had never discontinued it in places
 “ where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by
 “ Them: that when he came into *England* he would
 “ not severely inquire how it was used in other
 “ Churches, though he doubted not, he should find
 “ it used in many; but he was sure he would have no
 “ other used in his own Chapel.” Then they besought
 him with more importunity, “that the use of the Sur-
 “ plice might be discontinued by his Chaplains,
 “ because the sight of it would give great offence, and
 “ scandal to the People.” They found the King as
 inexorable in that point as in the other; He told them
 plainly, “that he would not be restrained Himself,

His Majesty's
 Reply to
 them.

B O O K

XVI.

“ when he gave others so much liberty ; that it had
 “ been always held a decent habit in the Church,
 “ constantly practised in *England* till these late ill
 “ times ; that it had been still retained by him ; and
 “ though he was bound for the present to tolerate
 “ much disorder and indecency in the exercise of
 “ God’s Worship, he would never, in the least degree,
 “ by his own practice, discountenance the good old
 “ Order of the Church, in which he had been bred.”

Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased farther troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in *England* more effectual.

After eight or ten days spent at the *Hague* in Triumphs and Festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the Monarchs of *Europe* had met there, and which were concluded with several rich Presents made to his Majesty, the King took his leave of the States, with all the professions of Amity their Civilities deserved ; and Embarked himself on the *Royal Charles* ; which had been before called the *Naseby*, but had been new Christened the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order of his Royal Highness the Admiral. Upon the four-and-twentieth day of *May*, the Fleet set Sail ; and, in one continued thunder of Cannon, arrived near *Dover* so early on the six-and-twentieth, that his Majesty disembarked ; and being received by the General at the brink of the Sea (whom he met, and embraced, with great demonstrations of affection) he presently took Coach, and came that Night to *Canterbury* ; where he staid the next day, being *Sunday* ; and went to his

The King
embarks for
England.

And the Fleet
sets Sail
May 24.

The King
arrives and
lands at
Dover May 26,
and went to
Canterbury
that Night.

Devotions to the Cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the People seemed glad to hear the Common-prayer again. Thither came very many of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality, to present themselves to the King; and there his Majesty assembled his Council; and swore the General of the Council, and Mr. *Morrice*, whom he there Knighted, and gave him the Signet, and swore him Secretary of State. That day his Majesty gave the Garter to the General, and likewise to the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton* (who had been elected many years before) and sent it likewise by *Garter*, Herald and King at Arms, to Admiral *Mountague*, who remained in the *Downs*.

On Monday He went to *Rocheſter*; and the next day, being the nine-and-twentieth of *May*, and his Birth-day, he entered *London*; all the ways thither being ſo full of People, and Acclamations; as if the whole Kingdom had been gathered there. Between *Deptford* and *Southwark* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him, with all ſuch Proteſtations of joy as can hardly be imagined. The concourſe was ſo great, that the King rode in a crowd from the Bridge to *White-Hall*; all the Companies of the City ſtanding in order on both ſides, and giving loud thanks to God for his Majesty's preſence. He no ſooner came to *White-Hall*, but the two Houſes of Parliament ſolemnly caſt themſelves at his Feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the Joy was ſo unexpreſſible, and ſo univerſal, that his Majesty ſaid ſmilingly to ſome about him, "he doubted it had been his own fault he had been abſent ſo long; for

May 29 He
came thro'
the City to
White-Hall.

Where the
two Houſes
waited on
him.

BOOK

XVI

The Conclusion of the whole History.

“ he saw no body that did not protest, he had ever
“ wished for his Return.”

In this wonderful manner, and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a Rebellion that had raged near twenty Years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of Murder, Devastation, and Parricide, that Fire and Sword, in the hands of the most wicked Men in the world, could be Instruments of; almost to the desolation of two Kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third.

It was but five Months, since *Lambert's* Fanatical Army was scattered and confounded, and General *Monk's* marched into *England*: it was but three Months, since the secluded Members were restored; and, shortly after, the monstrous long Parliament finally dissolved, and rooted up: it was but a Month, since the King's Letters and Declaration were delivered to the New Parliament, afterwards called the *Convention*: on the first of *May* they were delivered, and his Majesty was at *White-Hall* on the 29th of the same Month.

By these remarkable Steps, among others, did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those wounds, but even make the Scars as undiscernible, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the Deliverance. And, after this miraculous Restoration of the Crown, and the Church, and the just Rights of Parliaments, no Nation under Heaven can ever be more happy, if God shall be pleased to add Establishment and Perpetuity to the Blessings he then restored.

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